Savagery and Colonialism in the Indian Ocean

Power, pleasure and the Andaman islanders

Satadru Sen

ROUTLEDGE

Savagery and Colonialism in the Indian Ocean

This book examines the social, political and ideological dimensions of the encounter between the indigenous inhabitants of the Andaman Islands, British colonizers and Indian settlers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The British-Indian penal settlements in the Andaman Islands – beginning tentatively in 1789 and renewed on a larger scale in 1858 – represent an extensive, complex experiment in the management of populations through colonial discourses of race, criminality, civilization and savagery. Focusing on the ubiquitous characterization of the Andaman islanders as 'savages,' this study explores the particular relationship between savagery and the practice of colonialism.

Satadru Sen examines savagery and the savage as dynamic components of colonialism in South Asia: not intellectual abstractions with clear and fixed meanings, but politically 'alive' and fiercely contested products of the colony. Illuminating and historicizing the processes by which the discourse of savagery goes through multiple and fundamental shifts between the late eighteenth and late nineteenth centuries, he shows the links and breaks between these shifts and changing ideas of race, adulthood and masculinity in the Andamans, British India, Britain and the wider empire. He also highlights the implications of these changes for the 'savages' themselves. At the broadest level, this book re-examines the relationship between the modern and the primitive in a colonial world.

Satadru Sen teaches South Asian History at Queens College at the City University of New York, USA. He is the author of *Colonial Childhoods: The Juvenile Periphery of India, 1850–1945*; *Migrant Races: Empire, Identity and K.S. Ranjitsinhji*; *Disciplining Punishment: Colonialism and Convict Society in the Andaman Islands* and (as co-editor) *Confronting the Body: The Politics of Physicality in Colonial and Post-Colonial South Asia.*

Routledge/Edinburgh South Asian Studies Series

Edited by Crispin Bates and the Editorial Committee of the Centre for South Asian Studies, Edinburgh University, UK

The *Routledge/Edinburgh South Asian Studies Series* is published in association with the Centre for South Asian Studies, Edinburgh University – one of the leading centres for South Asian Studies in the UK with a strong interdisciplinary focus. This series presents research monographs and high-quality edited volumes as well as textbooks on topics concerning the Indian subcontinent from the modern period to contemporary times. It aims to advance understanding of the key issues in the study of South Asia, and contributions include works by experts in the social sciences and the humanities. In accordance with the academic traditions of Edinburgh, we particularly welcome submissions which emphasize the social in South Asian history, politics, sociology and anthropology, based upon thick description of empirical reality, generalized to provide original and broadly applicable conclusions.

The series welcomes new submissions from young researchers as well as established scholars working on South Asia, from any disciplinary perspective.

1 **Gender and Sexuality in India**
Selling sex in Chennai
Salla Sariola

2 **Savagery and Colonialism in the Indian Ocean**
Power, pleasure and the Andaman islanders
Satadru Sen

Savagery and Colonialism in the Indian Ocean

Power, pleasure and the Andaman islanders

Satadru Sen

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2010
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

Simultaneously published in the USA and Canada
by Routledge
270 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016

This edition published in the Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2010.

To purchase your own copy of this or any of Taylor & Francis or Routledge's collection of thousands of eBooks please go to www.eBookstore.tandf.co.uk.

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2010 Satadru Sen

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilized in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Sen, Satadru.
Savagery and colonialism in the Indian Ocean : power, pleasure, and the Andaman Islanders / Satadru Sen.
p. cm. — (Routledge/Edinburgh South Asian studies series)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
1. Andaman Islands (India)—Colonization. 2. Andaman Islands (India)—Race relations. 3. Racism—India—Andaman Islands—History.
4. Indigenous peoples—India—Andaman Islands—History.
5. Stereotypes (Social psychology)—India—Andaman Islands—History.
6. British—India—Andaman Islands—Attitudes—History.
7. Andaman Islands (India)—Social conditions. 8. Power (Social sciences)—India—Andaman Islands—History. 9. Pleasure—Social aspects—India—Andaman Islands—History. 10. Great Britain—Colonies—Asia. I. Title.
DS486.5.A5S46 2010
954′.880351—dc22 2009024920

ISBN 0-203-86308-9 Master e-book ISBN

ISBN10: 0-415-49782-5 (hbk)
ISBN10: 0-203-86308-9 (ebk)

ISBN13: 978-0-415-49782-4 (hbk)
ISBN13: 978-0-203-86308-4 (ebk)

To Amanda, and also to the memory of my father

Contents

	Acknowledgments	ix
	Introduction	1
1	Racializing the Andamanese	25
2	Counterinsurgency and the jungle	53
3	Clearings of the kidnapped	90
4	The dying savage: work, medicine and Andamanese extinction	127
5	Another jungle: natives and savages	157
6	Savage pleasures: the erotics of the Andamanese body	181
	Conclusion: beyond the clearing	208
	Notes	216
	Bibliography	250
	Index	261

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank Janaki Bakhle, Abigail McGowan, Amy Chazkel and Elizabeth Kolsky for reading and critiquing drafts of the chapters. In Delhi, Biswamoy Pati and Shakti Kak were generous with conferencing opportunities, feedback on drafts and preliminary papers, and hospitality. The Centers for South Asia Studies at the University of Hawaii-Manoa and the University of Edinburgh also provided forums for the discussion and revision of this work, and I am particularly grateful to Lawrence Cohen and Crispin Bates for their advice. In Santiniketan, Ranjit and Kumkum Bhattacharya were invaluable sources of information about the Andamanese and the politics of anthropology in India, and it was always a pleasure to stop by their home for tea and *adda*.

I am indebted to V. R. Rao, Mrinmoyee Banerjee, B. N. Sarkar, Sujit Ghosh and others at the Anthropological Survey of India for sharing their knowledge and resources. The staff at the library of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta were unfailingly helpful. The City University of New York and Queens College were generous with funding and time for research and writing, and I hope CUNY faculty will continue to receive such institutional cooperation in these straitened times.

The personal support of Laurence Schneider, David Howard, Veronica Johnson and Patricia Mackay during the writing of this book is deeply appreciated. Finally, I am grateful to my mother, who took it upon herself to proofread the manuscript, generally ignoring my instructions to flag typographic errors but not 'mess with ideas.' Nevertheless, responsibility for messy ideas remains mine alone.

The author and publishers would like to thank the following for permission to reproduce the following images:

The Anthropological Survey of India, Kolkata, for kind permission to reprint five photographs in Chapter 6: Figure 6.1 – 'Portman and islanders, posed

formally'; Figure 6.2 – 'Portman and islanders – an alternative formality'; Figure 6.3 – 'Typical head shot – male'; Figure 6.4 – 'Typical head shot – female'; Figure 6.5 – 'Three athletes'.

The British Library for permission to reprint one photograph in Chapter 6: Figure 6.6 – 'Ilech'.

Introduction

> I consider him a prodigious nuisance, and an enormous superstition . . . I call a savage a something highly desirable to be civilized off the face of the earth. I think a mere gent (which I take to be the lowest form of civilization) better than a howling, whistling, clucking, stamping, jumping, tearing savage . . . cruel, false, thievish, murderous; addicted more or less to grease, entrails, and beastly customs; a wild animal with the questionable gift of boasting; a conceited, tiresome, bloodthirsty, monotonous humbug.
>
> Charles Dickens, 1853[1]

> So you don't much like civilization, Mr. Savage.
>
> Aldous Huxley, *Brave New World* (1932)

From Caliban through Kurtz to Huxley's John, savages have walked uneasily through the history of European colonialism. Yet it is not at all clear what they accomplished for, and in, various colonial enterprises. Indeed, this cannot be clear because, as Bernard Smith first suggested a half-century ago, the savage is not a uniform creature but a shifting and shifty reflection of evolving agendas that were contested between different groups of colonizers and 'natives.'[2] Nor is it self-evident how discourses of savagery were created, received, modified or set aside. Savagery is a loose cluster of strategies and tactics: a modern response not only to the primitive but to modernity itself, and a process of self-representation by the primitive whose 'modern encounter' proceeds in tandem with the 'savage encounter' of the civilized. It is a method and a rhetoric of control, resistance and liberation. While it has broad relevance across post-Columbian colonial encounters, savages are also highly specific to particular encounters, such as the British colonization of the Andaman Islands in the Indian Ocean. I use the word 'encounter' to indicate relationships, however fleeting, between Europeans and 'natives' that generate in the former a self-consciousness of 'Western civilization.'[3] By looking closely at the facets of an encounter and unpacking its particular

savages, it becomes possible not only to understand that encounter, but to arrive at a better understanding of how colonizers – in their diversity – negotiate the worlds of the colonized.

Stretching between 1789 and the eve of the Second World War, the two British penal settlements in the Andaman Islands – an archipelago 800 miles off the east coast of India – were a long, interrupted experiment in the management of populations generated through colonial discourses of criminality and rebellion.[4] The second settlement, in particular, was a large, complex experiment, assembling more than 10,000 men and women, mostly Indian but also Burmese and a sprinkling of Eurasians and Europeans.[5] When the colonists arrived, the islands were home to a substantial 'aboriginal' population, which probably outnumbered the convicts until the final quarter of the nineteenth century. Relations between the Andamanese and the newcomers did not begin well. Convicts clearing jungles and building roads were frequently attacked by aborigines, outposts of civilization came under attack, and reprisals and counterinsurgency operations continued into the twentieth century.

By the 1860s, however, the military supremacy of the colony around Port Blair was no longer in doubt and its limits in the jungle were clearer, and the skirmishing subsided in frequency and intensity. British-Indian encounters with the aborigines took on more disciplined forms with the creation of the so-called Andaman Home in 1863–64. Supervised by the overlapping authorities of the chaplain of Port Blair and the Officer in Charge of the Andamanese, the Home – with its growing network of branches and associated schools, hospitals, 'orphanages,' holding pens, labor regimes and rituals of gift-giving – provided an apparently structured setting within which the Andamanese might be experienced, negotiated with, rewarded and punished under a modicum of British control.[6] The situation became both simpler and more nuanced in the following decade, when epidemics of measles and influenza, along with endemic syphilis, devastated the aboriginal population. From this point onward, with some exceptions, the Andamanese ceased to be significant either as political-military adversaries or as potentially civilized subjects. The savage encounter in the islands took on other functions that combined work and play, science and pleasure, in forms that have persisted, albeit not unchanged, into the present time.[7]

Savagery in the Andaman Islands is, of course, exactly (but indeterminably) as old as the European interest in the archipelago, which predates the penal colonies considerably. In the late eighteenth century, when the occupation of the islands was first contemplated by the British regime in India, there already existed a body of work and imagination that was traced by Europeans to antiquity,[8] and in which the Andamanese, rather than the Andamans, are the major point of fascination. The islander that emerges from

these early narratives is essentially mythical and only ambiguously human: a shadowy and corporeally insubstantial entity endowed nevertheless with a defining proclivity for cannibalism. During the first, modest British settlement in the islands between 1789 and 1796, this creature put on flesh and acquired straightforwardly human contours, but its reputation for natural aggression and cannibalism persisted and grew.

There was nothing 'noble' about this bloodthirsty savage. It has been suggested by Alice Bullard that the widespread replacement of noble savages by the ignoble variety in European colonialism in this period reflected a metropolitan loss of confidence in the face of 'deep time,' or the void of prehistory and Darwinian evolution in which divine restraint had played no role.[9] Mid-nineteenth-century administrators in Port Blair occasionally saw 'freedom' as a source of Andamanese ferocity,[10] but this was the savage freedom of Henry Maine,[11] with its childishness, cruelty and 'affective discordance': the non-realization of love in society, and the consequent non-realization of a cluster of social phenomena including liberty.[12] The inter-settlement period of about sixty years, in particular, was marked by a proliferation of European narratives of Andamanese brutality, and a growing record of close encounters in which European adventurers and sailors were menaced and thrilled.

This multi-layered fascination with savagery drove the determination of the regime in colonial India to return to the Andamans in force, since '[nothing] short of entire domination can prevent the evils which now occur from the savage and unbridled ferocity of the present inhabitants.'[13] The desire to pre-empt Andamanese attacks on European and Asian sailors was closely linked to intensified British commercial and political interests in the Indian Ocean, and especially the triangular maritime traffic between India, Burma and Malaya. Henry Hopkinson, the Commissioner of Aracan, hesitated to recommend a large-scale colonization of the archipelago but agreed that even a partial occupation by convicts and free settlers would open up agricultural and forest resources that were being wasted by islanders no different from 'the beasts of the forest.'[14] After several Burma-based Chinese traders were killed by the Andamanese, the Commissioner of Tennasserim and Martaban wrote:

> It is no doubt exceedingly to be regretted that the inhabitants of the Andamans never lose an opportunity of murdering all who may fall within their power; but a circumstance so well known . . . must, long ere this, have frequently occupied the attention of the Supreme Government. I . . . confine myself to simply [noting] the danger of landing on the Andaman Islands, and of the inhospitable and savage character of the natives.[15]

In the spring of 1856, Lord Canning's government in Calcutta cautiously agreed to explore the feasibility of a new penal colony, acknowledging the 'notoriety' of the 'savage inhabitants' and pointing out that the Bay of Bengal had become 'a British sea' that must be kept free of 'persons not subject to the British Government.'[16] F. J. Mouat – Inspector-General of Prisons, surveyor of the islands, and a man broadly interested in modern discipline[17] – concurred, noting that since the region was traversed by ships of 'the most civilized and enlightened nations of modern times,' it was unacceptable that the Andamans and Andamanese should remain 'almost invisible' to British knowledge.[18] An existing discourse of Andamanese savagery was, in the process, linked to the strategic considerations of civilized imperialism and a particular violation of sovereignty: living in a British geography without being subject to British authority. The very existence of such a savage constituted rebellion and demanded colonization, since otherwise British authority over a larger imperial geography would come under question.

In 1879, with the organized resistance of the islanders largely broken by guns and disease, the new OC-Andamanese was the absurdly young Maurice Vidal Portman. Then only 18, Portman was in some ways an unusual colonizer. He would mark himself with fiercely asserted negations: he was not a bureaucrat, an evangelist, a civilizer, a soldier, a doctor or even an academic (although he belatedly became a Fellow at Calcutta University). In other ways, he was quite representative of a strand within whiteness and authority in a Victorian colony: officer in the Indian Marine, member of a well-connected family listed in Burke's Peerage,[19] Freemason, self-made and self-making anthropologist, historian, editor, photographer and adventurer, who successfully established himself as a primary lens through which the colony and metropole saw the jungle and its inhabitants, and who, less successfully, imposed his will on the native worlds of settlers and aborigines. He remained the dominant figure in the savage-management regime in the islands until the end of the century, and his obituary in 1935 declared him to be the 'Father of the Andaman Islanders.'[20]

Over two decades, Portman participated in a transformation of savagery in the Andamans both specifically and within colonialism generally. Taking his discursive cues from the centers of the empire but improvising with considerable freedom in the remoteness of his archipelago, he was able to articulate a 'new savage': one that inhabited what Anne McClintock has called the 'anachronistic space' of the colony,[21] that had been fatally infected with history, and that had to be restored to a condition of viable anachronism. He was a critical part of a larger mechanism by which a bogeyman of European discoveries became first an adversary and then a specimen and protégé, relocated from the theater of public fantasy into theaters of colonial counter-insurgency, and moved again into a realm of science, private fantasy and

erotic-aesthetic contemplation. While the British-Indian engagement with the Andamanese continued after Portman and other officers in the islands assumed the mantle of 'fatherhood,'[22] the Portman era marked a climax of sorts in the colonial savage encounter, and it marks one boundary of this study.

With some pushing and shoving, Portman can be located within the historical trajectory that Henrika Kuklick has outlined for early British anthropology. The nineteenth-century field, Kuklick has suggested, developed under meritocratic and unorganized intellectual conditions that welcomed the participation of amateurs and subsequently of 'practical men' whose expertise was oriented towards the work of governance. She has further argued that there is an identifiable relationship between the professional-political conditions of early anthropology and its theoretical biases: whereas anthropologists of the late nineteenth century shared an optimistic vision of a universal human capacity for progress, those who followed around the First World War – in an era of declining British power, increasing professionalism and limited upward mobility – were relatively conservative, both in their assessment of the evolutionary prospects of race and culture, and in their openness to amateurs.[23]

Pushing and shoving is required because Kuklick's attempt to generate an 'extraordinary consistency' within the empire obscures the particularity of colonial histories and timelines.[24] By the 1890s, Portman's writings reveal considerable friction based on associational and geographical location within the 'meritocratic' fraternity of anthropologists, and his outlook on the survivability of primitive societies is deeply pessimistic. Kuklick oversimplifies the friction by attributing it to the colonial man's dislike of 'bookworms,' and perhaps underestimates the possibility that the conflicts and pessimism reflected changes in the content of savagery within the colony itself.[25] Nevertheless, it is fair to say that the loose professional structure of anthropology in Portman's time – coupled with the reluctance of colonial regimes to invest in specialists – allowed him, like other administrators, to acquire and deploy an informal expertise in the primitive and to affiliate himself with anthropology's new claim on 'disappearing' populations.[26]

As a phenomenon, colonial expertise went beyond anthropology. Covering a range of fields such as medicine, psychiatry, pedagogy and penology, it involved an improvised and insecure professional authority located on the margins of formal, metropolitan and academic bastions of knowledge.[27] The expert that Portman exemplified saw himself as an insecure scientist whose credentials were both supported and undermined by his peripheral location. He referred and reported constantly to 'colleagues' in London and Edinburgh but also emphasized, whenever he could, their ignorance of colonial material. Not surprisingly, his authority within his discipline was deeply dependent on his ability to access, control, manipulate and monopolize that material, which,

in the Andamans, was the savage. During the regimes of Portman and his predecessor, E. H. Man, it became axiomatic that the OC-Andamanese would have a parallel identity as an anthropologist and scientist, and that the savage would have a corresponding identity as a specimen.

Portman is enigmatic but hardly unknown: his magisterial two-volume history of British ‘relations’ with the Andamanese is sometimes cited uncritically by present-day anthropologists[28] and he enjoys a charismatic status in a small tribe of amateur Andamanists.[29] For the historian, Portman is interesting because he – alongside his colleagues and competitors – provides a window into a particular set of colonial concerns, methods and predicaments. Central to these are the questions of savagery at a pivotal moment in its history, when the content of the discourse shifts along with its functions. What is savagery in the final decades of the nineteenth century, when the civilized are at their most triumphant? What are its uses, what is its relationship to power and governance, how is it mapped on to a wider world of race, and how is it produced?

The historiographical trail is tangential. Vishvajit Pandya’s exquisitely detailed anthropology of the Onge occasionally touches upon colonial scholarship in the Andamans, but is rarely interested in its historical and rhetorical context.[30] For the most part, scholars who have considered savagery have abstracted the concept from the nuts and bolts of colonialism, and those who have looked at colonial savage encounters have not considered how these may have shaped, and been shaped by, discourses of savagery. Sita Venkateswar, for instance, has written about an ‘ethnocide’ visited upon the Andamanese through modern agendas of development, but has taken the categories of the killer, the killed and the killing to be self-evident.[31] The unevenness of primitive/savage and modern/civilized identities and agendas is not problematized, and the author does not question the meaning of the ‘death’ of ‘ethnicities’ that have, at least partially, been produced by outsiders.

It is not that savagery in the South Asian context has never been historicized. Felix Padel has written insightfully about British encounters with aborigines on the Indian mainland, demonstrating how colonial penetration generated the phenomenon of human ‘sacrifice’ among the Kond and split ritualized killing into a binary of predatory barbarism and rescuing/punishing civilization.[32] Nevertheless, Padel is not especially concerned with locating Kond savagery in a particular moment in the intertwined histories of imperialism and aboriginality, and his analysis is undermined by a pervasive instrumentalism. Preoccupied with colonial agendas of ordering and difference-making, he is insufficiently cognizant of the British appreciation of disorder, blurred lines, and getting lost in the process of discovery. Consequently, Padel does not fully unpack the fabric of savagery as a

pleasurable and productive material. Another account of the sahib in the jungle, Ramachandra Guha's history of Verrier Elwin and tribal India, is highly attuned to the pleasures of the savage encounter,[33] but treats savagery as a vague and static idea. The result is a historiographical lacuna that hides how discourses of savagery contributed to experiences and techniques of governance, and just as importantly, how the experience (and not just the practice) of governance contributed to notions of savagery.

Contemporary aboriginal encounters in India are, in any case, not consistently relevant to the history of colonialism in the Andamans. Although David Hardiman's work on the Dangs suggests that British 'Bhil Agents' foreshadowed the informal paternalism of the OC-Andamanese, administrators and writers of the Andamanese proceeded with few references to tribal-management elsewhere in India.[34] They commonly saw such references as inapplicable; Mouat and his collaborator, the ethnologist Richard Owen, insisted that unlike Santals, Kols, Veddas and Garos, the Andamanese were a 'genuine aboriginal race.'[35] They did not see 'tribal' and 'savage' as interchangeable terms. They were literally insular and, simultaneously, 'global' in this regard, locating themselves on and beyond the margins of the 'mainland,' and imagining Andamanese savagery with reference to a tropical-island imperialism, settler–native oppositions and racial notions not fully compatible with 'India.' In the process, however, they connected India and the Indian Ocean with a greater world of savages.

Looking at the wider anthropology of savagery, one is faced with the well-known quarrel between Sahlins and Obeyesekere about Cook in Hawaii,[36] and its continuation over the most evocative signifier of colonial savagery: cannibalism.[37] In a nuanced defense of William Arens' thesis that the cannibal/savage is primarily an Othering device for anthropological self-aggrandizement and European conquest, Obeyesekere has argued that anthropophagy, where it has existed, has been either a liturgical or an abnormal practice, and rare in either case. Drawing upon the work of Peter Hulme, he has separated anthropophagy from cannibalism and simultaneously welded the latter to the post-Columbian ideology of 'savagism.' Cannibalism/savagery, Obeyesekere implies, is a pleasurable and profitable figment of a recent European imagination: an elaborate fantasy of being consumed by the Other, proliferating in a poverty of evidence but a richness of deliberate and inadvertent mistranslation.[38] Sahlins, on the other hand, has insisted on the reliability of a great deal of the European narrative, arguing that 'natives' are not identically incomprehensible/savage. Thus, Hawaiians 'really' took Cook to be a god and cannibalism was 'real'; savage acts cannot be theorized out of history.[39]

Obeyesekere's allegation about European myth-making and the unreliability of contemporary narratives holds up well in the Andamans, and

I agree with Geoffrey Sanborn that cannibalism generated in post-Columbian Europeans a horror that constituted their humanity and their civilization. Europeans, Sanborn writes, *wanted* to see savage acts and images, and actively searched for 'the horror': the desire for evidence was not only pornographic but self-constituting and productive of novelty. Cannibalism/savagery is, in that sense, a European fetish.[40] It is, of course, difficult to disagree with Sahlins about the unevenness of 'natives' and discoveries. Even a cursory scrutiny of the complex web of race and political location in the Andamans shows savagery to be a particular strand of a politically 'unstable' native-ness, with breaks and knots in the strand. But it is also difficult to reject Rod Edmonds' view that Sahlins downplays the violent history of the savage encounter and is uninterested in 'knowing the intruder.'[41] Edmonds himself assumes an intruder-Self that remains stable in the course of 'the event,' but he is right to insist that savages are products of historical power-plays, and not of structures alone. The particular processes through which savagery is secreted include, but are not limited to, the standard 'modalities' through which colonizers sought to know natives in what Dirks calls the ethnographic state.[42] Colonial savagery reflects simultaneously a deployment, a failure, and an abandonment of those modalities in the process of the encounter, and the improvisation of semi-admissible new techniques of power, such as hunting, kidnapping and sexual desire.

With the partial exception of a section of the scholarship surrounding caste, Clare Anderson's history of the recording of convict bodies, and some work on medical colonialism, little has been written about the micro-politics of the encounter between the measuring colonizer and the measured and colonized in India.[43] Stephen Greenblatt's point that representation – a series of acts and processes within the encounter – does not simply reflect power but constitutes a new relationship of power, has not been adequately taken into account.[44] The closest parallel to the study that I am undertaking is Bullard's history of the transportation of Parisian 'Communards' to New Caledonia. Like the Andamans, that setting saw the establishment of a penal colony among an existing aboriginal population, and intensive engagement by French administrators with questions of savagery and civilization. Savagery and civilization, in Bullard's analysis as in mine, are connected to the specifics of governance and normalization, functioning as 'rhetorical devices to enforce a particular social order and political agenda.'[45] There are, nevertheless, significant differences between Bullard's concerns and mine. First, Bullard's notions of civilization and savagery are primarily products of metropolitan convulsions and the writings of Charles Renuvier and Auguste Comte; colonial experience uses them, enriches them and sometimes introduces ambiguities, but does not re-invent them.[46] I suggest that aboriginal savagery was built largely around the

problems and possibilities of the colony, and argue that the local conditions that produced savagery in the Andamans went through multiple, radical changes within a brief period of contact. My objectives are to examine the dynamics and ramifications of these untidy changes, and to sift through the ideological, psychological and human debris that accumulated in the cracks between one archetype of the savage and its replacement.

Second, while British and French colonizers both sought to understand savagery as a racial phenomenon, constructions of race in the Andamans reflected the reality that the islands were not just a colony of Europe, but a colony of a colony. The Andamanese savage was imagined in the shadow of a mainland, where the 'Mutiny' had generated a partially new discourse of the racial and sexual savagery of Indians who, in the penal colony, were counted as civilized natives.[47] There was in New Caledonia no population that was neither white nor savage. The Communards – in spite of their savagery – stood within a circle of whiteness. Bullard's contention that the French regime imposed 'a universal moral standard on Communards and Kanak'[48] must be received with caution and even skepticism: marginal whiteness is *like* blackness in many respects and there is much rhetorical borrowing and slippage, but they are not interchangeable. For all the fractures within French whiteness, the savage encounter in New Caledonia was between white and black, which eliminated some discussions of race even as it provoked others. No universal standard of savagery or civilization is evident in the Andamans, where Britons were faced with the challenge of managing multiple black populations, not to mention multiple whitenesses.

Third, whereas the French colonization of New Caledonia was grounded in a determination to civilize the Kanak,[49] the British in the Andamans – to say nothing of Indian convict settlers – had no comparable purpose or power. British dominance in the Andamans was, to appropriate Jayant Lele's words, a matter of 'recurring moments' not fully accommodated within structures of authority, which left considerable space and time for deviance and incomprehension.[50] This improvised patchwork of a state could produce jungles and savages, but no civilizing 'process' or 'mission' that Norbert Elias and Michael Adas might recognize.[51] Its representatives showed no consistent desire to transform the aboriginal population into something other than savages, and no agreement on what that 'something' might be. Indeed, to a historian of British colonialism in India, it is startling how purposeful and focused the French regime appears to have been in its moralizing of savages and criminals. Savagery in the Andamans was constructed not on an eradicationist platform but on shifting strategies of containment and consumption; to encounter a savage does not automatically signify a civilizing agenda.

Not surprisingly, anthropology left significantly different footprints in the Andamans and New Caledonia. Whereas anthropology in New Caledonia was anchored in missionary activity, in the Andamans it was imbedded in the secular machinery of government. Missionaries had a negligible profile; the major location of anthropological work was the office of the OC-Andamanese.[52] Because the boundary between jungle and settlement became the domain of administrator-anthropologists quite early in the Andamans, savagery there was produced primarily as a secular phenomenon rooted in administrative problems and pagan pleasures.

The boundary of the settlement is best understood with reference to Richard White's history of the encounter between French Jesuits and Native Americans around the Great Lakes.[53] White's book not only involves the wrong Indians, it is not concerned with savagery; ritualized torture and cannibalism simply exist, to be accommodated or confronted in accordance with the fluctuating capabilities and agendas of political actors. Moreover, it is set in a period – the seventeenth century – when modern ideologies of race were largely unformed and savagery was not invested with a clear racial significance, which it is in the nineteenth-century Andamans. White provides, nevertheless, a notion of political geography – the 'middle ground' – that is broadly useful to the study of savage encounters. For White, the middle ground signifies a space in which French power was tentative, the destruction of the Native American world not assured, and political and cultural negotiation 'real,' if not always equal or accurate.[54] It is, as such, a zone of imprecise translation, unpredictable exchanges and a continuous attempt to compensate for imprecision and unpredictability.

In the colonial Andamans, there is an inexact parallel for this phenomenon, which I – with apologies to Heidegger – call the clearing.[55] In the clearing, authority and resistance are productively uncertain. Here, what Purnima Bose has called 'rogue-colonial individualism' – the naked, supra-legal and conveniently alienable violence of the imperial white man – is incubated and, to a significant degree, normalized.[56] It is an evolving, transformed and transforming space, both literal and metaphorical, that is neither settlement nor jungle. It is a mechanism by which normative identities were 'blurred, dissolved, or rendered impossible to uphold' in Europe's colonies,[57] but in the later nineteenth century it is also a mechanism for the management of blurring, dissolution and impossibility. Here, translation falters, to be recuperated as savagery. 'Their speech is . . . entirely dependent on concurrent action for comprehension,' R. C. Temple declared about the islanders.[58] If communicating (with) natives is a project of establishing Habermasian 'validity claims' that commit the speaker to justify himself, then the clearing facilitates the bypassing of validity claims even as colonizers and the colonized speak: the pragmatic function of communication breaks down, turning inward and away from the

consensus of reason as speech becomes masturbatory or nightmarish performance.[59] Most directly, the clearing was represented by the Andaman Homes and their associated institutions, by Portman's own home, and by the shifting camps that accompanied expeditions into the jungle or the mainland. Indirectly, the Andaman Islands were themselves a clearing on the edge of the colony, and it may be argued (tenuously) that colonies were clearings on the margins of metropolitan societies.

Taking shape at (and fraying) the edge of evolutionist anthropology,[60] the clearing in the Andamans facilitated the historical production of 'the strange, the incongruous, [and] the peripheral.'[61] It is not a 'frontier . . . waiting to be historicized,' as Ranabir Samaddar has called the 'jungle mahals' of mainland India, but a strategic margin of history.[62] Specifically, it was an experimental space where formal rules of governance and identity became fluid and partially suspended. Here, Jarawas as well as Englishmen could be dipped in savagery, their distance from civilization measured, and the pleasures and pitfalls of that distance speculated upon. Savagery was a fundamental mechanism as well as an evolving product of this fluidity, not least because for colonizers, governing savages required an experimental quasi-savagery: rummaging critically through a historically accumulated cultural repertoire of anti-civilization, trying on bits and pieces of it, enjoying the process, but remaining careful not to disappear into the costume. A vital component of colonialism in the Andamans was a tacit element of play: the youthful officer's inclination to see the savage as a playmate and a playful alternative Self. It was possible, in the clearing, for white anthropologist-administrators to lead aboriginal war parties, to dance in a decidedly un-English manner even when they were no longer 18, and to look at naked young men in ways that were not entirely chaste.

Playful fear and fearful play were broad features of colonialism in the nineteenth century, with its fascination with and anxiety about white regression in the tropics.[63] But clearings were also specific places. Unlike Cook, who represented a normative manhood in late eighteenth-century England,[64] Portman in his obscure archipelago produced the dark margins of elite whiteness. But unlike Kurtz, who represented the horror of the clearing, Portman represented a better-managed, 'tamed' experiment with savagery, power and the loss of control.

Like White's middle ground, the clearing in the Andamans was politically contested. It was not fully under British control or Portman's control, and Portman's authority was not identical or coterminous with British authority. Portman spent much of his career embroiled in bitter, if civilized, disputes with administrators in Port Blair, Calcutta and London.[65] Aborigines who entered the Homes were notoriously resistant: they ran away, returned on their own initiative when they wanted food or iron, laughed at

administrators and played elaborate tricks on them, provided or held back linguistic skills critical to Britons, posed for Portman's camera, and made decisions about whether to praise or condemn the clearing when they went back into the jungle. They negotiated the terms of their cooperation. Just as Port Blair and Calcutta performed civilization for the Andamanese when the latter visited, it is undeniable that the Andamanese performed savagery for Portman, British soldiers, Indian convicts, Calcutta shopkeepers and the Viceroy not simply as objects of coercion but according to their understanding of the expectations of the audience, and according to their own agendas and pleasures.

Savagery, I argue, emerges in identifiable historical and political stages, but always at the intersection of precarious power and nervous pleasure. It reflects a common anxiety about the adequacy of the power of the modern, civilized and colonial, and a connection between collective deviance and political competition that is apparent, for instance, in the 'criminal tribes' phenomenon in India.[66] Yet criminal tribes were not savages; on the whole, they produced in the British no significant thrill, no desire to preserve, protect or appropriate that paralleled or followed the eradicating impulse.[67] Conversely, the savage was not a criminal, and the British showed great reluctance to subject the Andamanese to 'normal' processes of power. Power and pleasure are not, after all, straightforwardly related. Whereas publicly asserted pleasures are generated or facilitated by the experience of superiority and authority, other – privately-indulged, delinquent, displaced – pleasures are closely tied to the experience of inadequacy and doubt: doubts about the historical, racial and sexual nature of the savage, and about the limits of white authority when the sahib has reached the limits of civilization. Paraphrasing Greenblatt and Foucault, pleasure – especially delinquent pleasure – generates power: the power to reorder, to restrain, to re-create the Self advantageously.[68]

Savagery in the Andamans reflects a series of movements in colonial governance and its language, beginning with confidence, proceeding through a loss of confidence, and arriving at a reconstruction of confidence that contains residues of the prior conditions. This movement reflects and produces five realities of the colony. First, the savage was a symptom both of the colonizer's ability to dominate and represent the unfamiliar through normative categories of race and morality, and also of the failure of that ability. Second, the savage was an enabling trope that generated unconventional methods of governance and self-representation on the part of colonizers (tacit experiments with violence, leniency and informality, eroticism, counter-savageries seen as necessary and permissible) and excused the failure of 'civilized' methods. Third, the savage was a product of this unconventional and delinquent colonialism, and of the perceived inadequacy of morality in a colonial margin.

Fourth, in an Indian colony, the savage could not be a product of the British imagination alone, and was inevitably infiltrated and fragmented by Indian agendas, appropriations and pleasures. Finally, the savage was his or her own creation: a set of reactions to the expectations and interventions of the civilized, the dubiously civilized, and other savages.

In the Andamans, this diversity can be organized and periodized into three models of the savage: the fantastic, the treacherous and the fetish. This organization is not unrelated to the four-way structure of Noble, Romantic, Amalgamating and Dying Savages that Malcolm Nicolson has suggested for the Maori in the nineteenth century, but it is nevertheless different.[69] In a colony where settlers were natives and administrators reveled in the proliferation of race and savagery, amalgamation – a cluster of antipodean formulae for the integration of aborigines into a racialized civilization – was rarely an objective, and romanticism and nobility were inseparably entwined with the death of the savage.

Fantastic/cannibals

The early European experience of the Andamans is inseparable from insularity. Islands are both isolated and connected by the sea, a duality that transforms their inhabitants into precipitators of questions and explanations. Historically, Kathleen Wilson has observed, islands were the location of ‘distinctive, marvelous and endangered forms of life.’[70] The nature of insulated wonders is itself fragmented. Writing about history and colonial societies, Ranajit Guha has differentiated between two kinds of narrated wonder: an epic, ‘Indian’ wonder based on contemplation and comprehension of the familiar, and a historical, ‘European’ wonder constituted by incomprehension and based on the experience of the shockingly unfamiliar.[71] The wonders of post-Columbian discovery presumably fall into the latter category. At first glance, the early incarnations of the Andamanese savage, with its cannibal appetites and bestial body, seem to fit this notion of shocking novelty. Yet, the recurrence of the cannibal trope in the literature of discovery reflects a familiar European/masculine anxiety, the ‘fear of engulfment’ in (and by) the disorienting tropical/feminine.[72] The bestial Andamanese was, in fact, familiar to Europeans, having surfaced repeatedly in the literature of travel for several centuries. Marco Polo wrote of the islanders:

> The people are without a king, and are idolators, and are no better than wild beasts. And I assure you that all the men of this island have heads like dogs, and teeth and eyes likewise; in fact, in the face they are just like big mastiff dogs. They are a most cruel generation, and eat everybody that they can catch, if not of their own race.[73]

This was not the first mention of the fantastic Andamanese; Friar Odoric referred to cannibalism and dog faces[74] in 1322, and Nicolo Conti did the same circa 1400.[75] These narratives – imbedded with predictable but titillating details of anatomy and diet and the relatively prosaic matter of idolatry – continued to proliferate in the seventeenth century and beyond, with Cesare Frederici adding to the oeuvre in 1659 and Alexander Hamilton in the early eighteenth century.[76] In a process noted by Margaret Hodgen, pre-Columbian monsters were grafted on to newly discovered bodies, making monstrosity a vital aspect of savagery.[77]

It is useful at this point to recall a distinction that Greenblatt makes within European narratives of wonder. He sees, on the one hand, the wonder of Mandeville, based on blatant lies, the familiarity of the reader with the lie, and the reader's tolerance of the lied about. On the other hand, he sees a cunning, acquisitive wonder based on better disguised lies, that is hostile towards the objects of wonder.[78] That linking of representation, wonder and appropriation emerges in British writing on the Andamans late in the eighteenth century. Soon after taking charge of the first settlement in the islands, Alexander Kyd reported to the Government of India, 'I thought an attempt to convey a sketch of their persons and manners . . . might not prove unacceptable, at the period of their falling to be ranged among the new acquired subjects of the East India Company.'[79] Crucially, however, Kyd did not find the Andamanese unfamiliar, writing that they were reminiscent of 'the dark, oily-coloured Coffree.'[80] Nor did he express the slightest interest in civilizing, transforming or enslaving them.

On the whole, early narratives of Andamanese savagery are constituted by the repetition of tropes and the fulfillment rather than the shredding of expectations. After the first settlement (1789–1796) had come and gone and some 'first-hand' knowledge of the islanders been acquired, Britons responded consistently to the Andamanese with a shudder of recognition. One narrative, purportedly by a 'Muhammedan' but reproduced for British consumption in 1811, declared:

> The people on this coast eat human flesh quite raw; their complexion is black, their hair frizzled, their countenance and eyes frightful, their feet are very large, and almost a cubit in length, and they go quite naked. They have no barks or other vessels; if they had, they would seize and devour all the passengers they could lay hands on.[81]

James Alexander, a British diplomat who traveled in 1825 from Turkey to Burma with a short, violent stop in the Andamans, confirmed that the islanders were 'anthropophagi'; he added that this was the belief of 'the Chinese,' but did not say whether he had learned it from the Chinese.[82] First-hand

experience is, after all, an illusion of imagined collective identity: the European Self that 'experienced' the Andamanese was, more often than not, several steps removed from the colony. The colonizer who actually met the Andamanese – as Alexander seems to have done – came equipped with this sense of familiarity, and his 'experience' remained a perfunctory gesture. The only way to shock, in this narrative environment, was to describe the Andamanese as friendly and harmless, which a 'gentleman from Moulmein' did in 1850.[83] Inverting the discourse of fantastic discovery, Portman and Mouat dismissed this author contemptuously as 'a Munchausen.'[84] In the Andamans, it was the exotic that was familiar and believable.

Consequently, late eighteenth-century and inter-settlement narratives of the Andamans reinforced the familiarity of the mythical savage even as they discarded the overtly magical elements. The savage that emerges in this period is wondrous, horrific, indirectly experienced, but nevertheless human. *Ritchie's Survey of the Andaman Islands*, a narrative from 1771 that survives only in fragments, observes:

> It is generally believed . . . that they are cannibals and eat one another; or at least eat those of their enemies whom they take or kill in battle. How far this is true I know not – certain it is that nothing in the human shape can have a more wild appearance either in person or manners.[85]

Here, as in Alexander's narrative, the savage is slightly and pleasantly obscured. Ritchie does not tell us whether he himself believes that the Andamanese are cannibals, but leaves the reader with the suspicion that they are. R. H. Colebrooke, who sailed to the islands at the outset of the first settlement, had nothing to say about cannibalism, but his experience was otherwise very conventional. The future Surveyor-General of India wrote in his journal in 1789: 'This morning the natives showed an inclination to be very hostile and mischievous.'[86] Writing to the Asiatic Society five years later, Colebrooke described a well-known creature:

> The Andaman Islands are inhabited by a race of men the least civilized, perhaps, in the world; being nearer to a state of nature than any people we read of . . . The men are cunning, crafty and revengeful; and frequently express their aversion to strangers in a loud and threatening tone of voice, exhibiting various signs of defiance, and expressing their contempt by the most indecent gestures. At other times they appear quiet and docile, with the most insidious intent. Their mode of life is degrading to human nature, and, like brutes, their whole time is spent in search of food.[87]

Kyd went further, albeit cautiously:

> There is no foundation yet discovered for considering them cannibals, notwithstanding they have been unequivocally handed down from the remotest antiquity under this character.[88]

Caution, however, was not allowed to cloud wonder, and Kyd found the Andamanese 'astonishing' in their oral and gastronomic habits: they stripped bark with their teeth, he wrote, and ate lizards, rats and monkeys.[89] The mythical savage remained alive; there are no monkeys in the Andamans. In roughly the same period as Colebrooke and Kyd, another Briton, Michael Symes, visited the new settlement en route to Burma. He did not hesitate to make the expected gesture towards Andamanese cannibalism, citing Ptolemy for support. Like Kyd and Ritchie, however, he injected a note of ambiguity, speculating that the Andamanese probably ate human flesh as a response to the scarcity of other food.[90]

Sections of the Kyd and Colebrooke narratives are identical; one man seems to have plagiarized the writing of the other. Portman, who knew both narratives, does not see this as a discrediting factor.[91] This suggests, first, that James Hevia's point about the centrality of the author-explorer in late eighteenth-century narratives of exploration notwithstanding, authorship was not consistently important in the telling of savage tales in the period preceding the second settlement.[92] The obscure margins of empire preserved pockets of the mythical, and well into the nineteenth century, there is the slow congealing of a semi-historical and only partially experience-driven narrative of the Andamans that was broadly known to readers, writers and putative informants. Not until Mouat do we find an intruder boasting of his daily record-keeping, and even then much of the recorded information is gathered from subaltern sources: convicts, guards, sailors, aborigines themselves. Second, it suggests that Portman saw a sharp break between these earlier texts and his own, locating them – and their savages – within different narrative traditions. In the later discourse, authorship and experience are critically important, but Portman could scavenge the earlier narratives with their vague and unreliable authors as raw material to accept, reject or correct in his own acts of authority. Mandeville's cannibals had been only partially supplanted in the British imagination by those of Cook,[93] and the older, pre-anthropological narratives with their pleasurable echoes of the bizarre persisted, repeated endlessly by Portman even as he denied that the Andamanese ate monkeys and men. 'I assure you they are not cannibals' carried within it a residue of the wonder conveyed by 'the Chinese believe them to be anthropophagi.' Portman is, in that sense, both a killer and a keeper of the cannibal in the Andamans.

He is not alone in this. Mouat rejected the cannibal stories but frequently revisited the danger of being eaten.[94] He also insisted that the Indians who

came to the islands after 1857 saw the Andamanese as 'monstrous' cannibals, thus displacing on to the semi-civilized subject an obsolescent, embarrassing but still enjoyable colonial fantasy.[95] As late as 1863, Henry Corbyn, the first OC-Andamanese and creator of the Andaman Home, wrote about a woman who 'gnashed her teeth close to my hand, and then contemptuously flung it from her . . . to signify that she would bite and tear me if she could.'[96] Corbyn qualified the image by speculating that the woman was insane and hostile to Europeans,[97] transforming cannibalism into a state of personal and historical disarray. Nevertheless, nature was not eliminated from the picture, and Corbyn implied that the 'insanity' of the angry savage was rooted in an innate quality that could be ignited by clashes with whites. Cannibalism – an elusive sign that tended to fade upon inspection[98] – thus remained useful to the colonizer well into the history of actual contact, representing resistance as savage nature while providing it with a handle that was instantly familiar and convincing.

Treacherous/enemies

Crispin Bates has argued that any examination of the colonial primitive must begin with 'the study of the practical exigencies of [its] particular modes of production.'[99] The British-Indian colonies in the Andamans, and the second settlement in particular, were not merely a large prison. Long-term convicts transported there were encouraged to marry and join a community of 'self-supporters' who would fill a variety of economic, social and political niches, ranging from peasant cultivators and trades-people to employees of the regime.[100] There was, consequently, an unresolved tension between two visions of the settlement. On the one hand was a penal colony, in which convicts were external to civilization, and aborigines potential instruments of their punishment. On the other hand was a settler colony, in which convicts were a part of civilization and the regime was responsible for the protection of their interests. In the latter vision, aborigines featured as hostile outsiders.[101] Both visions encouraged a rethinking of the Andamanese population on the part of British observers, who after 1857–1858 typically constructed savagery not as a mythical condition based on rumors and vaguely authored narratives, but as the product of a historical clash and a political contest. These observers – and the savages they observed – were completing what Johannes Fabian has described as a movement between 'a conception of time/space in terms of a history of salvation to one that ultimately resulted in the secularization of Time as natural history.'[102] In this transitory mode, the savage was an enemy unevenly constituted by new histories of race and progress, whose unevenness was hostile and 'treacherous': a cause and a product of warfare.

Writing about massacres by Europeans in the Marquesas, Greg Dening noted that visitors killed islanders casually because they possessed the technological capability, because the inferior Other was beyond empathy, and because the transient were beyond responsibility.[103] Dening's observation has some relevance in the Andamans, where trigger-happy 'voyagers' took their toll. Convict settlers and jailor administrators, who fought the islanders more intensively, were another matter. Their ever-growing need for space and 'forest produce' – timber, bamboo, honey, edible bird's nests, gurjon oil (believed to cure leprosy[104]) – clashed with the existing ecology of Andamanese life. Not surprisingly, aborigines attacked convicts clearing the jungle, revealing to Britons their inability to appreciate a civilized attitude towards nature and confirming their status as implacable enemies located beyond the geography of civilization.

Beyond that, there is the existential issue of 'security' in a settler colony: the fundamental paranoia of a society that sees itself as culturally, racially and politically distinct from (and superior to) an indigenous population that it systematically excludes. In the Andamans, this facet of settler colonialism is highly complicated, because the colony was internally stratified along the lines of race and political privilege. It may have suited the British to include, occasionally and contextually, Indian convicts in the circle of 'civilization,' but it cannot be assumed that convict settlers shared the visions of community and exclusion articulated by their jailors. Before the twentieth century, there is little evidence in the islands of a British-Indian axis of aboriginal dispossession similar to what Dasgupta has posited in his study of 'jungle mahals.'[105] As Bullard has shown, a marginalized settler population can develop unpredictable affiliations in the three-way polity of a prison situated among savages.[106] In fact, there is a great deal of evidence of autonomous and underground relationships – social, sexual, political and economic – between convicts and aborigines. Moreover, the British were themselves ambivalent (or ambiguous) about whether the Andamanese were permanent outsiders: there existed, until the 1870s, programs of work and education geared towards incorporating aborigines into the settlement.

Two points can nevertheless be made. One is that convicts attacked in the jungle can reasonably be expected to have seen aborigines as menacing. The British were colonizers and jailors, but convicts in the Andamans had complex bonds with the regime and with individual administrators,[107] and the idea that they would have seen themselves and their jailors as members of a common beleaguered community in limited contexts is not far-fetched. The other point is that British officials were determined that the colony and the jungle were separate domains, and that the former had to be kept 'safe' from the Andamanese.[108] This determination was not without political value, because the notion of the Andamanese savage lurking outside the 'walls' of

the open prison was the jailor's primary deterrent against escape attempts. The savage-as-enemy was thus both a strategic asset and a 'genuine' product of the nature of the settlement, its reality accepted contingently by a substantial (albeit uneven) population of the civilized.

Political-military conflict between imperial Britain and the Andamanese has its roots in the later part of the mythical stage, i.e., in the first settlement and the inter-settlement period when British maritime activity in the Indian Ocean increased and clashes between voyagers and aborigines became more frequent and better documented. But when British narrators sought to historicize this clash, they struggled to identify a moment when it began or ended. There is no conquest to speak of; the occasion when the Andamanese appeared to surrender or accept British authority is elusive, slipping out of history and into a murk of contradictory narratives and myths that are nevertheless repeated in a self-consciously historical text like Portman's *A History of Our Relations*.[109] It is in this uncertainty within a historicizing dynamic, as much as in the uncertainty of convict–aborigine relations, that a basic component of Andamanese savagery – the notion of a 'treacherous' adversary – was born.

Andamanese treachery first surfaces in Colebrooke's account from 1789, and in nearly all subsequent accounts until Portman. Portman is himself ambiguous on the issue. 'I have never found them treacherous,' he told the Royal Geographic Society in 1888. 'Cannibals they never were.'[110] Yet in the same paper, Portman refers to the Jarawa – the unpacified hold-outs among the islanders – as 'cunning.' Elsewhere in his work, he did not hold back from referring to the 'treacherous' nature of the islanders.[111] Treachery had become too central to the political relationship between the Andamanese and the British for Portman to jettison it altogether, and it is worth asking just what it meant in the period when the cannibal threat had lost currency and credibility.

The construction of the insurgent as a savage had emerged powerfully in colonial discourse during the Indian Rebellion of 1857.[112] Not surprisingly, the war in Upper India reinforced the savagery of politically intransigent natives in the new penal colony. Mouat devoted considerable space in his narrative of 'adventures' among the Andamanese to praising British morale in Calcutta in 1857, describing the 'rational hope' of Britons in the face of 'savage [and] treacherous rebellion.'[113] In the period when clashes between aborigines and settlement forces (soldiers and armed convicts) were common, the rhetoric of treachery functioned as a prose of counterinsurgency, delegitimizing Andamanese resistance by relocating it from the realm of politics to that of nature, i.e., recasting it as an innate moral failure.[114]

Following upon the period of overt warfare, the Andaman Homes produced more treachery. The Homes of the 1860s sought, inconsistently, to transform the Andamanese into peasants, artisans and servants. They were also geared

towards the exchange of languages, which, Ranajit Guha has noted, is a highly coercive colonial project.[115] The other major function of the Homes was to serve as centers of gift-giving and detention. Visiting Andamanese were given food, cloth, iron and tobacco, not only so as to make them grateful, but to render them 'addicted' to civilization.[116] Such addicts were expected by British officials to be politically tractable.[117] Kidnapped or 'arrested' aborigines were often detained at the Homes for weeks or months; those who had come to receive presents were sometimes not allowed to leave. The expectation was that when detainees were eventually released, they would remember the kindness and firmness of their captors, and convince their fellow-aborigines to accept the bona fides of the colony.

These ambitious programs were chronically troubled, and the troubles were summarized as 'treachery.' The translation of Andamanese languages was rudimentary and fragmented rather than accumulative: the ritualistic production of dictionaries by OC-Andamanese was accompanied by a continuing failure of the authority of the translator-administrator. It was typical for each translator to declare contemptuously that his predecessor had misunderstood a whole range of vocabulary, exposing the regime to the secret or mystifying laughter of savages. The 'untrustworthy' character of existing ethnologies of the Andamanese, about which Man, Portman and practically every ethnologist in the clearing complained vehemently, mirrored the 'untrustworthiness' of the Andamanese themselves.[118] (Man suggested that colonial intervention had exacerbated the problem by infecting the Andamanese with the untruthfulness of Indians, and by blurring the structure of aboriginal society for ethnologists.[119])

Britons could hardly deny that aborigines who received gifts did not necessarily become allies, and that released captives were more sullen than appreciative. They could see that their energetic program of epidemic medicine generated little in the way of gratitude, let alone docile patients.[120] But they were unable to understand a basic feature of the Andamanese response to the clearing, which is that it represented a major new economic (and political) resource in the tribal world. Aborigines were willing to negotiate for it but did not see negotiation as decisive capitulation or permanent subordination. Under the circumstances, the older, militarized idea of treachery was reinterpreted to signify and explain the ingratitude and sheer incomprehensibility of those who appeared literally receptive and cooperative at one moment, and hostile, amused or indifferent the next.

Fetishized/specimens

The major change in the savage-management regime after the 1870s was the end of the half-hearted project of civilizing the Andamanese. The epidemics

were an unmistakable sign that the attempt to transform savages into peasants and to integrate them – however partially – into a non-white labor force had been a mistake. Portman, in particular, came to believe that neither the savage body nor savage culture was robust enough to survive the shock, and he was all too aware of the resistance generated by the coercive regimes of his predecessors in the clearing.[121] In addition, and to some extent in consequence, Portman was endowed with an outlook that was simultaneously scientific and Romantic. He wanted to preserve what was left of the Andamanese savage as a scientific specimen and an object of enjoyment, reconciling two Manichean oppositions posited by scholars of colonial exploration: that between the 'hard' savagery of vicious (Melanesian-type) primitives and the 'soft' savagery of the desirable (Polynesian-type), and that between ignoble and noble (both North American) savages.[122]

The word 'preserve,' while difficult to avoid in this context, is also misleading, because Portman had no intention of simply leaving the Andamanese alone. He condemned civilizing projects but embraced an agenda of 'taming.' He was not the first Briton to use the word in the Andamanese context; his predecessors had used it as a synonym for pacification, following a broader colonial usage.[123] Following a new trend in European savage encounters[124] but with an eye on the peculiar settler colonialism of the Andamans, Portman reinterpreted tameness to indicate a savage condition based on a modified relationship of subordination to the colonial regime. The tame savage of the 1880s and 1890s was expected to embody a docile, useful, semi-accessible and pleasurable savagery, firmly attached to the OC-Andamanese but cut off from other non-aborigines. While their own savagery was no longer seen by the regime as a serious military threat, it could be utilized as an erotic-administrative asset: Portman energetically organized tame aborigines into an uncivilized militia that wore no uniforms other than exposed black skin.

Within the clearing, the tame were now approached by their managers with the rhetorical, mechanical and organizational tools of science, 'protected' by the state from threats to British-assigned biological and cultural identities, and cultivated for their newly valued, expertly guided, but definitively savage manufacturing and procurement skills.[125] While tameness was constituted by stability of essence, however, to be tame is also to be amenable to (re)location, and Europeans during this period devoted considerable effort to finding a scientifically verifiable racial niche for the Andamanese. The savage body, which had once been insubstantial and mythical, then violent and located a rifle-shot away from civilization, now became real, proximal, observed, measured and medicalized: reified as savage, but also positioned on a prosaic map of races and a vocabulary that was itself a product of nineteenth-century colonialism.

Nothing reflects the status of the tame savage as well as the issue of Andamanese names. British officers assumed early on that the islanders existed in an inviting vacuum of individual identity. '[T]his singular people have no proper names for each other, and readily learnt to adopt those by which they were ticketed,' S. R. Tickell wrote in 1864.[126] The specific names evolved: whereas aborigines encountered by Britons prior to the 1870s were commonly given semi-comic names such as 'Topsy,' 'Jumbo,' 'Friday,' 'Crusoe' and 'Tar-Baby,' borrowed from a generalized repertoire of discovery and colonialism, those who inhabited the clearing in the Portman era had 'traditional' Andamanese names like Mebul and Riala.[127] Peter Redfield has observed that 'Crusoe' is not just a name but a mnemonic device of colonialism, signifying tropicality, existence outside society and progress, and masculine-sexual self-sufficiency.[128] Kuklick, on the other hand, sees Crusoe as a trope of the vulnerability, resilience and adaptability of middle-class European civilization.[129] That Andamanese men in the 1860s would commonly be renamed 'Crusoe' by Britons indicates an early rupturing of the line between the colonizer and the savage, allowing the former to project themselves into the jungle and appropriate savagery for the practice of counter-savagery. Moreover, the assignment of deliberately altered or distorted names was a method of collapsing and de-individualizing inferior/insurgents: 'Jumbo' in the Andamans was akin to 'Pandy' in the 'Mutiny.' The later pattern of names, however, signified British victory in the counterinsurgency. It indicated that the value of the new savage lay in his imagined authenticity as well as his openness to repair/reconstruction. Savagery and tameness had become mutually constitutive.

It is not at all coincidental that the post-1870s emphasis on a docile authenticity coincided with the emergence of a discourse of the imminent extinction of the Andamanese. At the turn of the century, the aboriginal population of the islands was possibly still in excess of 2,000.[130] Precise estimates are impossible to come by, not only because no systematic 'count' was taken before the census of 1901, but because the process of counting – like any census in British India – was inseparable from colonial assumptions about who was to be counted as what.[131] Nevertheless, it became commonplace for European observers to speak of the Andamanese as if they were virtually extinct. A 25-year-old Alfred Radcliffe-Brown, who arrived in the Andamans within six years of Portman's departure, continued to maintain that the Andamanese were a vanishing scientific treasure in an advanced stage of biological and cultural contamination. They would, he declared, become extinct within fifty years.[132]

Gregory Smithers has connected late nineteenth-century discourses of savage extinction to settler-colonial desires for racially 'harmonized' societies.[133] This connection does not work well in the Andamans, where

there were few white settlers and no policy of amalgamation or extermination. Yet extinction was too pervasive a preoccupation in the Andamans to be merely rhetorical backwash from 'true' settler colonies. The 'disappearance' of the savage in the islands was in some ways an elaborately organized, constantly mistranslated and necessarily incomplete play on words: a civilized pleasure. Portman certainly represented himself as if he was presiding over an extended funeral or guarding a living fossil.[134] Man, who witnessed the epidemics first-hand, declared in 1883 that 'contact with civilization has killed them,' speculated (again, on thin evidence) that Andamanese death rates had exceeded birth rates for twenty years, and connected extinction to cultural death: the aborigines were being 'rapidly . . . reduced to the standard of civilized manners,' he observed, urging that 'all possible information regarding their habits, customs [and] physical characteristics' be gathered before it was too late.[135] The authentic and tame savage was, in that sense, historically dead but scientifically and aesthetically alive.

To some extent, the neo-Romantic impulse within museological colonialism[136] restrained or rescued the tame savage not only from the gravity of civilization, but from the orbit of the state. Many Britons who lived and worked in the clearing, and Portman in particular, had deeply schizophrenic relationships with the colonial regime. Unlike his contemporary Franz Boas, Portman did not reject the basic racial prerogatives of colonialism even as he mourned the effects of British policy.[137] He was located within the regime and one of its principal agents. He did not, however, represent the state consistently: he spoke frequently on behalf of 'science' and in opposition to unscientific colleagues and rivals in Port Blair, occasionally accused them of exploiting or abusing the Andamanese, and sometimes appeared to have seceded altogether and founded his own empire on the edge of the colony. He was a government anthropologist who wanted to keep the rest of the government out of the clearing. He shifted in and out of the conventions of his declared discipline: unlike other ethnologist-administrators, he was indifferent to questions of aboriginal religion, seeing a more substantial savagery in a vacuum of gods and totems. He and his colleagues – including Man, who used the word 'extermination' to describe the depopulation he saw but did not question his own role in the process[138] – cannot be captured fully within debates about whether anthropologists 'supported imperialism,'[139] because the element of pleasure in the savage encounter fractured the colonizing Self, along with the façade of a coherent regime.

When major counterinsurgency operations against particular segments of the aboriginal population ceased, those Andamanese became the fiefdoms of experts like Man, Portman, M. C. C. Bonington, Radcliffe-Brown[140] and C. Baden Kloss,[141] and of part-time escapees from civilization. The latter were, more often than not, the same people in a different mode: 'off-duty'

experts and administrators, as it were, engaged in the pleasures of fantasy and 'private' experiences of power. Portman's gloomy and critical reading of the impact of civilization upon the primitive, while not insincere, was an affectation: a self-pleasuring performance of decadent tropical-island colonialism. The savage as object of fantasy might appear to be a flashback to the mythical creatures of the pre-settlement period, but the phenomenon was not Mandevillean in the least. The new fantasies – such as the eroticized savage that entertains a temporary abdication of white, adult, heterosexual masculinity – were enabled by the same techniques of control, observation and representation that made possible the scientific repackaging of savagery. The emphasis on discipline also ensured that the Romanticism of tameness in the clearing was only superficially related to Rousseau's vision of savage nobility. What had developed in the Andamans was a facility for the aesthetic and erotic contemplation, by a limited number of Europeans, of savagery in a 'natural' but controlled habitat.

1 Racializing the Andamanese

> Their knowledge even of themselves is imperfect. They have no . . . notion of their own origin.
>
> Mouat, 1863

In August 1858, just months into the second settlement, a series of clashes between colonial troops and the Andamanese provoked the ire of the Government of India. The Home Department felt that J. P. Walker, a veteran jailor and the first full-fledged superintendent of the penal colony,[1] had been unnecessarily aggressive in his approach to the aborigines. Walker was told:

> The President in Council fully appreciates the difficulties of your position. But the aborigines of the Andamans are apparently unable to conceive the possibility of the two races co-existing on the islands, except on terms of internecine hostility. This idea is assuredly strengthened by every attack we make upon them, and can only be driven out of their minds by a course of persistent conciliation and forbearance on our part. Every effort must be made to teach them that we desire to cultivate friendly relations, and have no intention of attacking them or doing them any injury, unless they compel us to act in self-defence.[2]

Penned by Home Secretary Cecil Beadon, the letter is revealing beyond its author's intentions. First, the notion that the Andamanese could not tolerate the co-existence of 'two races' in the islands rendered the Indian convicts marginal in a penal colony created for them. The colony could be eclipsed by the clearing; apparently, in some contexts, colonialism in the Andamans was more about the management of savages than of criminals. Second, Beadon displaced on to the Andamanese his own anxieties about race and co-existence in the empire. The concerns and vocabularies were not new in 1858, but they

were renewed and reshaped by the creation of the penal colony, and continued to be massively influential for the duration of the century.

As an entity that condensed in European colonialism in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it is to be expected that the Andamanese savage would also be a creature of race, shaped by the narratives of travelers invested in historical and taxonomic coherence.[3] Race, after all, was emerging as the primary grid for the organization of power, possession and knowledge at precisely this time.[4] As Wilson has pointed out, the new understanding of race was strongly influenced by theories of human migration and its linguistic evidence.[5] Moreover, by the time of the founding of the second settlement, race had become a 'core element' of colonial rule in India, given an unavoidable and seemingly unshakeable solidity by the war still underway on the mainland.[6] To order a colony in the second half of the nineteenth century was to insist upon that solidity: its substance, its truth, its history and its normative hierarchies, permissions and restrictions.

When Britons encountered the indigenous population of the Andamans in 1789, the latter constituted an unformed racial enigma. Nearly a century later, the 'race' of the Andamanese was still an ongoing topic of discussion among administrators and anthropologists. This long and often bitter conversation raises questions that go to the heart of the colonial savage encounter, and more specifically to the production of savagery in the islands. How is the savage racialized, and how is this process related to the practice of colonial governance? What are the links – and the gaps – between the content of race and that of savagery? If whiteness is manufactured in the colony as Ann Stoler has suggested, how and why does it modulate its distance from the multiple blacknesses, savage as well as civilized, which are its intimates and enemies?[7]

At one level, race derived from, reflected and informed the colonizer's experience of power and vulnerability in the savage encounter. Edmonds has argued that the eighteenth-century European imagination of Pacific Islanders reflected an attempt to bring the intimidating vastness of the ocean into a temporal grid of civilizations.[8] In the Andamans, Britons confronted not the infinite horizon but the sightless jungle, which was itself lost at sea. Race provided a chart that flowed not from rumors, myths and hearsay, but from the prosaic coercion of colonial governance; yet it supplied the ideological and imaginative means for nurturing the Romantic within the prosaic. It stamped and bound the Andamanese with the authorities of science and history, perpetuating the moment of Discovery beyond any crude notion of a 'first encounter,' generating new mysteries of bodies, cultures and geographies, and rendering novelty familiar but not vulgar. At another level, race provided a language for the identification of the Andamanese, their organization as a colonial population with compartments and specificities, and

their location not only in a normative hierarchy but also on an imperial-historical map of races that made them real and recognizable.

When British administrators attempted to re-create 'India' in the penal colony in the Andamans they also re-created caste with its normalizing boundaries and histories.[9] The aboriginal population, however, could not be accommodated within this scheme: they were external to the imaginary of a carceral India where convicts might become peasants and workers. Indeed, their status as 'aborigines' was itself (partially) a consequence of this externality. As Elizabeth Elbourne has pointed out, there is nothing automatic about the identification of a population as 'aboriginal'; that determination is based on the politics of a particular colonial situation.[10] Aboriginal status located the Andamanese within the language of race rather than caste, religion or penology. Their legitimate connections were not to Indian convicts but to other savages, discoveries and experiments in governance.

Nevertheless, it could hardly be denied that the Andamanese were present in the Andamans, and that they interacted with Indians and Britons. They were, in that sense, misfits in their own islands. A racial identity had to be improvised for them, first, as a way of engineering a 'fit' for aborigines in the penal colony. This location also offered administrators guidelines in a jungle/archipelago of incomprehensible languages, vanishing insurgents and naked black bodies, because a wider imperial world could now be referenced for clues as to what they might expect of – and for – their un-Indian subjects and counter-players. Race in the Andamans facilitated the wonder of the savage encounter by generating the discovery of the familiar in an unfamiliar place. It allowed for the gradual encapsulation of wonder within a powerfully competitive language of science, but left open a window of pleasurable uncertainty, prompting Temple to write in 1909 that 'No connexion with any other group has yet been traced.'[11]

Not surprisingly, the racialization of the aboriginal population of the islands manifested itself in multiple and sometimes contradictory ways. It underlay the scrutinizing and recording of Andamanese bodies in the period between the fanciful visions of early narrators and the elaborate measurements of Portman, and shaped the trajectory of Andamanese names as these moved from 'Friday' to 'Mebul.' It informed also a rhetorical movement that began with an 'Andamanese race' but that became increasingly concerned with articulating a location for the Andamanese within broader and recognizably modern racial categories (Negro, Negrito) defined by biology as well as by history, including biological histories of migration, evolution, disease and extinction.

This was not a complete movement by any means. Culture as a racial signifier not only continued to thrive in the later period; it acquired new disciplinary bases in anthropology and museology, and roots and reflections

in the acculturated body. The idea of an 'Andamanese race' survived into the latter part of the nineteenth century, but it survived as a cluster of natural peculiarities that existed in conversation with the histories and destinies of affiliated 'races' thrown up by colonialism. Furthermore, at the time of the second settlement, a reference to 'the Andamanese race' was not an 'innocent' imprecision with language; it was politically different from the use of phrases like 'the French race.' As colonized savages, the Andamanese were chained to race in a manner that nineteenth-century Europeans were not. Whereas the latter also had nationhood, individuality and history, i.e., the stuff of subjectivity, savages had only external assessments of culture and biology: the status of racial objects. The colonial usage of the word 'race' itself marked the Andamanese as savage.

Race, science and the renewal of wonder

The major challenge of anthropological work among the Andamanese, Radcliffe-Brown wrote, was confronting the discovery that these were 'direct descendants . . . of the original Negro race.'[12] The racializing of the Andamanese was central to their transformation from dog-headed beasts to humans of an inferior grade. This change is not self-evidently appealing within a colonial project heavily invested in the discovery of wonders; it is, in a sense, a loss that must be compensated beyond the acquisition of a strategic asset and a place to put large numbers of convicts. The wonder of the mythical savage must be preserved even as that savage dies, and it must be renewed through the articulation of new mysteries – and their solutions – that are grounded in historical maps and scientific bodies. What was discovered, then discovered to be false, had to be re-immersed in an ongoing process of discovery connected not only to the pleasurable fantasy-life of whiteness in the jungle, but also the practicalities of colonial governance and the expert's need to assert his special authority over the clearing.

Attempts to distill an Andamanese 'race' that was both scientific and wonderful go back to the eighteenth century, when writers like Hamilton, Symes and Ritchie began to supply narratives of the islands that make the transition from the mythical to the historical mode.[13] Hamilton distinguished explicitly between the Andamanese and the Nicobarese even as he wrote uncertainly about a long-ago 'war' between the two groups.[14] Colebrooke's 1795 account is vague about just what – and who – the author had discovered; the Andamanese remain mysterious, but this is nevertheless a prosaic narrative of an encounter with unfamiliar humans.[15] Savagery is rooted not only in a nature signified by a perverse body and its appetites, but also in history: enslavement, war and resistance. Colebrooke is explicit that the historical impulse to savagery (including cannibalism) is itself 'natural.'[16] 'Natural' does

not indicate a 'state of nature': whereas the latter produces distance, the former closes a gap, especially in the context of the late eighteenth-century interest in natural/universal political propensities. The dual movement foreshadows the nineteenth-century discourse of the Andamanese, but it retains a naïve wonder at the savage body. With his inefficient accommodation of 'time as a mode of succession to the past and time as mode of transformative practice for the future,'[17] Colebrooke inhabits a transitional stage of the narrated savage encounter, drifting between Mandeville and Mouat. The inter-settlement period is, in that sense, marked by a vagueness in which the wonder of mythical beasts and lost kingdoms had largely passed but had not been adequately replaced.

A century after Colebrooke, Portman seized upon that vagueness, fleshing it out in his commentary, establishing Andamanese identity as a package of races, tribes and knowledge, and his own identity as an anthropologist based in the clearing. He is not unappreciative of Colebrooke, but his compliments are typically back-handed:

> The 'long bows' mentioned may be the very long and clumsy bows of the Jarawa tribes, or the peculiarly shaped Aka-Bea-da bow. Colebrooke probably saw both. What Colebrooke (and many others) takes for a 'shield' is the 'dancing board' of the South Andaman Group of Tribes. The Jarawas have not got this. I propose, when analyzing the Vocabularies compiled during the first six years of the present penal Settlement, to show how ludicrously misleading some of these misunderstandings are. Colebrooke evidently obtained his information at secondhand. And the persons from whom he obtained it could not have been long enough on friendly terms with the aborigines of any one tribe to have compiled a trustworthy vocabulary. The remarkable point about Colebrooke's paper is that it should contain so much that is reliable and correct.[18]

Portman found new uses for the old myths that Colebrooke, Symes and Kyd had marginalized, and which endowed the Andamanese with an antiquity that was immensely attractive within the museological colonialism of his time.[19] For Portman, who was deeply invested in a pristine savage that he might (re)discover and recuperate, it was gratifying to imagine the Andamanese not only as a 'lost' race that had protected its purity by eschewing 'intermarriage' with outsiders, but also as a relic that was primitive by virtue of its presence in a primitive narrative tradition.[20]

Retelling stories about mythical savages who inhabited a landscape of lakes that turned ordinary metals into gold placed Portman on the strategic margin of a familiar, albeit unreliable tradition of European narratives of discovery. He expected his readers, like Mandeville's readers, to recognize the dog-

headed cannibals and the magic lakes; this recognition was an important part of his credibility as well as their pleasure. At the same time, his open skepticism about the stories distanced him from the likes of Marco Polo and Nicolo Conti. Seeking to establish himself as the major possessor and mediator of the savage in the Andamans, Portman cannibalized the older narratives to assert an exclusive claim to knowledge that was accurate, scientific and firsthand, i.e., born out of an intimate experience of power. The savage born from this knowledge contained a 'memory' of the Mandevillean, but was otherwise a creature of manipulated, measured and photographed bodies with identifiable links to other bodies on what McClintock has described as the 'family tree' of race in the Darwinian era.[21]

The drawing of racial and ethnic lines in the second settlement was inseparable from administrative priorities geared towards clear divisions of identity, function and status.[22] In this setting, the contours of an Andamanese race were informed by the desire of officials in Port Blair to utilize, preserve and monopolize the novelty of the savage reinvented through governance. Not long after J. C. Haughton took over as superintendent of the colony in 1859, he traveled to Sumatra in search of Andamanese who might be employed as interpreters in Port Blair. He got an unfriendly reception from the King of Acheh, who was apparently eager to hide and protect an ongoing trade in Andamanese aborigines in southeast Asia – particularly Siam – in which the elites of Acheh were complicit.[23] Haughton learned in Sumatra that Andamanese were prized in the royal court of Bangkok as 'a rarity.' Unwilling to continue to Siam, he declared that any Andamanese in Bangkok would be useless to him, since they would probably speak only Siamese.[24] Vowing to make inquiries with R. Schomberg, the British envoy in Bangkok, Haughton retreated to Port Blair. The impertinent King of Acheh was under the impression that the British had been defeated in the Indian Mutiny, indicating another subtle connection between colonial power and the ability to produce savages.[25]

Haughton's frustration reflected, first, his failure to capture and contain the 'Andamanese race' within the British savage encounter, either as a discourse or as colonial subjects. Unsubstantiated stories about economies of kidnapping and knowledge involving Andamanese and non-Europeans were clearly not only thriving in 1859–60, they were difficult for Britons to substantiate or dismiss. Second, Haughton was unhappy about what non-Europeans did with (and to) the savages they appropriated. Immersion in the courtly and cultural worlds of Thailand, like the alleged immersion of Andamanese servants in the civil lines of Penang,[26] could 'ruin' the savage and render him useless, both as an employee and as a curiosity. The Thai case was especially upsetting because whereas the servants in Penang worked for Europeans, any Andamanese in Bangkok would have been acculturated into

relations of racial deference with another group of natives. Haughton assumed correctly that the Thai interest in savages was different from that of the British, and his narrative reflects an understanding that the Thai/Sumatran conception of a 'rarity' – a human trinket without historical or scientific value – was inferior to the British conception of 'curiosity' or even 'wonder.'

While monopolizing the Andamanese as a subject race proved difficult, Britons situated in the clearing could nevertheless utilize history and science to convert trinkets into curiosities. In January 1861, four aboriginal men – Turai De, Ira Jobo, Bia Kurcho and Bira Buj, renamed Friday, Tuesday, Crusoe and Jumbo by British sailors in Port Blair – were captured by settlement forces and accused of having attacked and plundered convict labor gangs. Improvising a penal transportation from the penal colony, Haughton dispatched the men to Moulmein so that they might see 'the extent and greatness of our power and their own insignificance and weakness,' and be subjected to 'a certain amount of discipline.'[27] Jumbo died soon afterwards (his skeleton was 'prepared' for display by the Asiatic Society), and the remaining three men were monitored by Tickell, the Deputy Commissioner of Tennaserim. Tickell regarded his experience as not only an administrative experiment but also as the practice of race science. He published his 'findings' in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, trying valiantly to connect the Andamanese not only to Africans but also to Papuans and Filipino aborigines, referring in his own support to the indexical properties of their physiques,[28] and expressing his astonishment at the conflict between the evidence of bodies and an apparent series of geographical impossibilities.[29] These questions about race – based on impossibility and astonishment, and expressed in terms of science and history – were more significant than any answers generated at this time, which would remain tentative even after the work of Man and Portman in the final decades of the century. Radcliffe-Brown declared that it was 'not possible' to know how and when 'Negroes' came to the Andamans.[30]

That middling administrators in Moulmein and Port Blair would dabble in the science of a racialized savagery indicates that the second settlement was, from its outset, located within a colonialism marked by the proliferation of amateur governor-ethnologists who moved captive bodies around their districts, jails and jurisdictions, and published in semi-academic journals.[31] These men were the forebears not only of Portman and Risley, but of Kipling's Creighton, the most highly evolved nineteenth-century fantasy of the ethnographer-imperialist with a taste for the primitive. S.A. St. John, a young army officer visiting the Andamans in 1865, was acutely interested in whether the Andamanese were Negroes, and could not keep this curiosity separate from his disappointment at how 'civilized' Ross Island was.[32] He noted that Andamanese pottery was similar to early British ceramics, and in a conventional Romantic-anthropological movement saw in the study of the

former a chance to shed light on ancient Europeans.[33] F. Day, a surgeon touring the islands in 1870, was overtly interested in solving the racial puzzle posed by aboriginal faces in which he glimpsed monkeys as well as Hottentots and Madrasees, not to mention malaria (brought about, he believed, by deforestation).[34] Day believed that such mysteries were the proper preserve not only of scientists who knew how to locate bodies, but of Romantics who might find themselves transported benignly to unexpected locations. Describing 'engaged' aboriginal couples staring longingly at each other as evening descended upon the clearing, and 'honeymoons' in the jungle, the surgeon slipped into the language of emerging mid-Victorian wedding rituals,[35] and strayed simultaneously and deeply into the discursive territory of a paradisiacal tropicality far removed from the conventionally hellish representations of the penal colony.

Day's narrative of Andamanese weddings – including the 'honeymoon' – is plagiarized nearly verbatim from one of J.N. Homfray's reports on the Andaman Homes, indicating how readily the clearing generated these slippages, with their fantasies of a 'race' that was surprising in its exoticism and its familiarity, and indicating also the endlessly recycled, constantly appropriated and incrementally changing nature of Andaman narratives.[36] Because the racialization of the Andamanese was part of a discovery, it was both simultaneous and retroactive/retrospective: a process in which the colonizer discovered the native, and simultaneously uncovered that the native had been discovered before, and that he had necessarily to absorb or contradict the earlier discovery. It had, therefore, an obsessively self-referential quality that frequently manifested itself in the appropriation of authority and authorship. Every new author was the 'Father of the Andaman Islanders,' generating the race from a murky void.

Being godlike race-maker was a competitive affair, not least because the race-makers were located in competing professional and geographical bases. Some were academic anthropologists from metropolitan universities; others were colonial experts who had cultivated positions on the margins of academia. Radcliffe-Brown, for instance, referred to Portman as merely 'a writer on the Andamans' whose work was 'full of error and entirely unreliable [and] does not add very much to our knowledge of the Andamanese themselves.'[37] Portman, having agreed with much of what Tickell wrote, dismissed him (and Day, and St. John) as a pretender to science, knowledge and authority. He attempted this by deploying a polemic against academic ethnologists and linguists:

> Major Tickell had some reputation as a linguist, and I have been careful to publish and correct the accounts and vocabularies of the Andamanese written by would-be scientific observers, in order to show how very

> incorrect an idea a person may form of savages with whom he has but a short acquaintance. I . . . have little doubt that the numberless similar short accounts of other savages, and their vocabularies, published by casual visitors to their countries, are equally valueless and incorrect, and would warn students against them. It should be remembered that such accounts . . . have been, and still are, accepted as correct by those anthropologists who are not engaged in original research; and dogmas are laid down, and theories enunciated by leading scientific men, which are incorrect, being founded on incorrect data.[38]

Portman could also be accommodating. In 1893, he hosted a French expedition headed by the Sorbonne physiologist Louis Lapicque, who was sent to the Andamans by the surgeon Paul Georges Dieulafoy to study 'the pure and hybrid Negrito races in all parts of the world.'[39] By the 1890s, the investigation of racial purity (or admixture) in the Andamanese was a major inter-imperial scientific project. Situated at the heart of this project, Portman could function as guide, interpreter and interpolator for visiting scientists. He facilitated the larger project not only because he was increasingly confident of his authority as gatekeeper to the Andamanese, but also because in almost every way he was in agreement with the goals and assumptions of the project. Portman rejected the specifics of the 'science' produced by other Europeans who observed the Andamanese, but he did not dismiss either their scientific framework or their conviction that the science of race was a rediscovery and restatement of the wonder of the savage.

The 'original research' and 'data' to which Portman referred in his tirade against academic anthropologists were substantially based on the value he attached to the racialized savage body at a time when that body was discovered to be dying, and for reasons that Europeans struggled to comprehend. The connection that Portman made between expert authority and the identity and content of the savage is highlighted, for instance, in his criticism of his predecessor E. H. Man, who Radcliffe-Brown held in higher esteem.[40] Man was hardly indifferent to Andamanese bodies as recordable objects,[41] but had made the mistake of trying to relate the Andamanese and the Nicobarese on the basis of perceived cultural commonalities.[42] Portman refuted him by insisting that the Andamanese and the Nicobarese (who were not seen as dying) were different at the level of their bodies.[43] The isolated and disappearing body in the clearing had become the basic stuff of Andamanese racial identity, just as isolation in the clearing allowed the expert to read the vestigial body for its historical secrets. Medical knowledge of the Andamanese was thus rendered increasingly as racial knowledge. Reflecting the discourse of climates and constitutions,[44] Portman observed that the Andamanese 'dislike and fear cold very much, and do not bear it well

positively, but when taken to an Indian climate which was much colder than their own, though inconvenienced they were not injured in any way, and indeed improved in general health.'[45] The suffering, dying or unexpectedly surviving body produced the race as the patient and the object of wonderment.

Medicine and death were not the only circumstances in which bodies produced the Andamanese. In 1856, before the discourse of extinction had enveloped the islands, a group of Chinese sailors was supposedly attacked by aborigines on a beach in the Indian Ocean. The identity of the islanders was pinned to the Andamans on the basis of the assailants' skin ('black as ink,' in the words of Haughton, then a magistrate in Moulmein), although their considerable height introduced into the deduction a note of uncertainty that is typical of narratives from the inter-settlement period.[46] In 1863, when Britons in the Andamans presumably had a clearer idea of what 'the Andamanese' looked like, Corbyn would initiate a cultural-craniological inquiry by trying to deduce whether skulls found in Andamanese encampments came from the islanders or from devoured outsiders:

> These may be merely valued relics of their own deceased kinsmen, except that some are as large as the skulls of ordinary human beings, and too large to be in proportion to their diminutive bodies; but still skulls and other remains of deceased persons of another race, possibly trophies of slaughtered enemies, may be found about their encampments without establishing the fact of their cannibalism.[47]

Here, Corbyn revives (even as he semi-discounts) the cannibal narrative and seeks to re-establish it on the reliably modern platform of comparative racial anatomy. Andamanese skulls, which are not the skulls of 'ordinary human beings,' reveal not only the possibility of Andamanese cannibalism, but also the reality of the 'Andamanese skull.'

Nevertheless, the bodies that Portman, Man, Haughton, Corbyn, Tickell and his superior Fytche (who also took a keen interest in the Andamanese captives in Tennaserim and published with the Asiatic Society) grasped with such eagerness were only incompletely colonized. They tended to get away from the colonizer, turned on them (Tickell had the unnerving experience of having his back slapped fraternally and publicly by one of his specimens[48]), refused to confirm their measurements or their cannibalism, and did not hold still on the map of the mid-nineteenth-century empire. This was not, however, a failure of race-making in the clearing. The racialization of savagery involved both the deployment of power and an exciting perception of the slipperiness of power. The latter was itself an experience of wonder, justifying further intervention, examination and publication.

From Africa to Tasmania, via Papua

Because of the nature of modern racism, and because the British colonization of the Andamans occurred within a history of imperialism that was explicitly an ordering of race,[49] Britons approached the 'race question' of Andamanese identity not only with reference to Andamanese bodies, but also the bodies of other savages and subjects, including whites. This allowed them to locate the Andamanese – and themselves – within that history of savage encounters and in the disorienting jungle of the colonial world. Establishing a comparative vision of race provided clarity and breadth of vision; it was, in effect, a stepping back from the closely encountered savage for a Panoptic and world-historical perspective that might then inform governance in the colony and the clearing.

When *Ritchie's Survey of the Andaman* was published in 1771, the Andamanese and other 'aboriginal' groups in Southeast Asia were at an early stage of being swept into a new language of physically and genealogically constituted blackness, and their 'relatedness' was accepted as being within the realm of possibility. Ritchie referred to Papuans as 'late relations' of the Andamanese and a 'similar race,' even as he suggested that the Andamanese were descended from African slaves shipwrecked in the Indian Ocean before the voyages of Vasco da Gama.[50] The shipwrecked-slaves theory of Andamanese origin had a long life; Homfray accepted it as late as the 1860s and Day refused to dismiss it, suggesting that 'some' Andamanese (those with 'blubbery lips' and 'projecting jowls') were descended from Africans.[51] Its longevity reflects Britain's ideological investment in a pre-colonial slavery from which colonial intervention had recovered the Andamanese; the savage, in a familiar contemporary twist, was imagined as the child of the slave.[52]

By the late eighteenth century, the word 'Coffree' (deriving from the lexicon of Arab and Portuguese involvement in the African slave trade) was being used by European writers to refer not only to Africans but also to quasi-Africans, i.e., people Africanized by physiognomy but with perplexing geographical locations like the Philippines and New Guinea.[53] In 1790, the *Calcutta Monthly Register* identified the Andamanese as 'a strong, robust set of Coffrees,' and remarked on their similarity to Cook's newly discovered New Zealanders.[54] Simultaneously, Kyd speculated about 'their originating from different tribes of the Coffree nation,' and compared their body odor to that of 'the Guinea Negro.'[55] ('They have not the Negro smell,' Portman interjected irritably a century later. Man was more specific: 'The ammoniacal, rancid, goat-like exhalations of the negro are not found among them.'[56]) Colebrooke wrote in 1795 that the Andamanese had woolly hair, thick lips and flat noses 'like the Africans.'[57] The African references were the first 'external' points of identification to surface in British narratives of the islanders, and the first overtly racial trope to replace the dog-headed wraiths.

There is nothing automatic about this: Africans themselves were blackened, savaged and cannibalized just when the Andamanese were Africanized, reflecting the emergence and convergence of particular European imaginaries of a 'black' physiognomy, 'Negro' identity, the political-economic niche of slavery and the savagery of blackness.[58] These would continue to inform most, if not all, nineteenth-century discussions of the 'origin' of the Andamanese and their relationship to other savages. It should be noted in passing that there was no echo in the Andamans of the enthusiasm for polygenesis that entered the American discourse of 'the Negro' in the mid-nineteenth century.[59] In what is perhaps an irony of the history of race and racism, Africanization was also the full humanization of the savage in the Andamans.

Surveying the Andamans immediately before the establishment of Port Blair, Mouat remarked that for Britons 'to ascertain [the aborigines'] manners and customs, and to establish their identity with any existing portion of the Negro race, to which they clearly belong, would solve the mystery of ages, and lead to a knowledge of the probable manner in which Asiatic Islands came to be occupied by an African people.'[60] He wavered in his assessment of the African-ness of the Andamanese – in his book, published in 1863, he is less certain of the African connection than he is in his 1858 surveyor's report – but he persisted in the search for clues. Jack, the aboriginal youth Mouat kidnapped to Calcutta, was taken to the Garden Reach docks to meet African sailors, in the (false) hope that a linguistic match would reveal itself.[61] Soon afterwards, Superintendent R.C. Tytler wondered at the 'excessively African' appearance of the Andamanese he encountered.[62] The Andamanese were thus simultaneously an African overflow and a 'mystery,' and Mouat (anticipating Tytler and Tickell) imagined their savagery as a mismatch between race and geography: not only were they a lost people, their islands were a misplaced terrain. For the scientifically and historically inclined colonizer, confronting these mysteries was essential to avoiding the embarrassing Columbian fate of being lost in a seascape and a population that threatened, literally, to engulf them.[63]

When the second settlement began and British encounters with the Andamanese became more regular and intimate, the identification with Africans became more firmly grounded in the scientific examination of bodies. This scrutiny, which began in earnest during the captivity in Burma of Friday, Tuesday and Crusoe, was contemporary with similar experiments in racial comparison underway at the African Asylum in Bombay, but whereas the Asylum administrators tried to establish how African children were different from their Indian and European counterparts,[64] the captors of the Andamanese pursued signs that would confirm and solidify African-ness. Physical inspection, however, rendered the African connection both apparent and elusive. It did not produce a perfect match with the 'true Negro,' and Fytche wrote about the captives in Burma:

> Mr. Blythe of the Asiatic Society . . . [who], with myself, has made a special study of these men, considers that their reputed similarity to the true African Negro has been greatly exaggerated. He remarks that their forehead is well formed and not retreating, neither are their lips coarse and projecting, and their nostrils are by no means broad; their ear is small and well formed. The hair is unlike the so-called woolly hair of the Negro, and grows conspicuously in separate detached tufts. They have scarcely any trace of whiskers, beard, or moustache, and have been long enough in captivity for the growth of such were it existent. The hair of the head, also, shows no disposition to elongate, but continues very short and crisp. The complexion is not a deep black, but rather of a sooty hue; the hands and feet are small, the latter not showing the projecting heel of the true Negro.[65]

A medical officer in Port Blair described the Andamanese as 'extremely black, more so than the African negro, and some have a dull leaden hue like that of a black-leaded stove.'[66]

Nevertheless, the exercise generated a narrative that reflected not so much the inapplicability of an African-derived blackness as its diffusion and proliferation into new categories (such as Negrito), locations and possibilities. Thomas Huxley, who was among the earliest exponents of 'the Negrito' as a racial type, believed that the Andamanese ('Mincopie') represented a distinct category that included Dravidians.[67] Corbyn found it significant that the Andamanese 'fraternized' with an Abyssinian sailor ('as black as the aborigines') in the islands.[68] St. John observed that '[Andamanese] features are generally those of the Negrillo, but vary in a most extraordinary manner, some having almost hooked noses.'[69] Some Britons saw the mystery of the Andamanese within Europe itself. Corbyn mentioned a tobacconist in London who 'passes for a stunted African' but might actually be Andamanese,[70] and Portman mused:

> It has often occurred to me that some of the so-called Negro pages, who seem to have been so common in the Courts, and houses of the aristocracy, in Europe in the eighteenth century, may have been Andamanese, particularly as some of them, unlike the true Negroes, never seem to have grown any bigger. They might easily have been taken by Malay kidnappers from the Andamans to Atcheen, and from that center passed on in the pilgrim ships, as mentioned by Mr. Hamilton, to the Arabian, Egyptian, and Levantine slave markets.[71]

There is a dual process at work in such narratives. On the one hand, apart from marking the familiar cruelty of slave-traders and duplicity of natives

who 'pass,' racial constructions like African/Negro appear to mask other, unfamiliar, savage identities, requiring the authority and probing expertise of the scholar-administrator to uncover the 'true' racial and geographic identity of the colonized. On the other hand, the discourse actually reinforces (while complicating) the trope of African blackness by implying that the Andamanese – and 'Negrillos' generally – were Negroes of a sort: they were undeniably 'like' Africans. Thus, in spite of the ambiguities of anatomy, the African-ness of the Andamanese was not so much diluted as it was infiltrated by new histories that included the historicization of the human body. At the time of the second settlement, Darwin had just been published, Australian experiences had entered the British imagination of aborigines in the vicinity of penal colonies, and other island savages had been encountered in the East Indies and the Pacific. Shaped by almost a century of discovery, subjugation and measurement, the 'indigenous' inhabitants of these places became major references for the insertion of the Andamanese into an evolutionary chain (not a 'natural but static chain' as Nancy Stepan has suggested,[72] but a highly unstable and experimental chain in search of new links), and their location in a watery geography rich with blackness, savagery and colonial-anthropological potential.

Being 'Negro' – pure or otherwise – remained critical, but even impurity was a worthwhile discovery in an ideological context where impurity signified history and mystery simultaneously. How, for instance, could 'negraic, Malayan . . . and even Aryan' features coexist in the faces of the Andamanese, as E.S. Brander (the Second Medical Officer in Port Blair in the early 1870s) insisted that they did? Was Biala, the chief of Rutland Island, actually a 'native of India,' as Brander also suspected?[73] Or were the Andamanese pristine children of Africa, genetically isolated and proud of the 'purity' of their 'blood,' as Man declared in his defense of the maligned chief?[74] Such questions had a special relevance to the governance of a colony and an empire where 'passing' had serious implications.[75]

As part of their attempt to determine whether the Andamanese were 'true' Africans, Fytche and Blythe matched them against native bodies in a racial world that had its 'headquarters' to the east of India, and that challenged Europeans to penetrate its secret recesses. They concluded:

> The Andamanese appear to be one of many remnants still extant of a race that was formerly very extensively diffused over South-Eastern Asia, which for the most part has been extirpated by races more advanced towards civilization, being now driven to remote islands or mountain fastnesses . . . [W]ithin the present century . . . and probably even now, there are one or more tribes of them in the mountains of the interior of the Malayan Peninsula, Sumatra, Borneo, and especially the Phillipine

> [*sic*] Islands . . . variously known as the Negrito, Negrillo, or true Papuan. The race has its head-quarters in the great Island of Papua . . . where some tribes are found attaining to six feet in stature, whilst others are so diminutive as the Andamanese.[76]

The formulation did not find favor automatically: Man insisted that the Andamanese were 'Negritos, *not* Papuans' (emphasis original) and cited as proof the non-cannibalism of the Andamanese and the status of Papuans as 'inveterate anthropophagi.'[77] Man conceded, however, that links 'may possibly be found to exist' between the Andamanese, the Semangs of Malaya and the Aetas of the Philippines.[78]

The appeal of eastern cousins was not simply that Papuans and others 'explained' the Andamanese. When Portman carried out his photographic and anthropometric experiments in the 1880s and 1890s and examined Onge and Jarawa captives at his home, the knowledge that he produced also rendered other savages historically and scientifically comprehensible through comparison with the Andamanese. Kuklick has remarked that Papuans did not become major targets of applied anthropology until 1906 (when Papua was transferred from British to Australian jurisdiction); it is nevertheless evident that they – like Polynesians and Melanesians – were 'live' points of anthropological-administrative reference in British colonies before that date.[79] Jarawa haircuts were reminiscent of Papuans, Portman noted, but the Andamanese did not decorate themselves with flowers as did the South Seas islanders.[80] A child born to an Andamanese woman named Ruth and a nameless Indian convict reminded Portman of Papuans, and he speculated that 'it may be that the Papuans are a hybrid race of Negrito-Polynesians, the latter race eventually exterminating the former.'[81]

Comparisons between the Andamanese and indigenous populations in Oceania, which marked much of the writing about the Andamans following the epidemics of the 1870s, surfaced during the first British settlement of the islands, which followed the Cook voyages. An article in the *Calcutta Monthly Register* in 1790 compared the Andamanese to people described by Cook on the South Island of New Zealand.[82] Portman was skeptical but did not reject the comparison, noting that it might indicate the presence of a Negrito population in New Zealand, 'allied to the Tasmanians and Andamanese,' before the arrival of the Maori.[83] Portman's intervention in a century-old narrative reflects an ever wider racial grid for the Andamanese that is also, explicitly, a map of colonial exploration, conquest and anxiety, inhabited by dead white explorers like Cook as well as exterminated savages. Indeed, the racializing of the Andamanese was not only a project of ordering different groups of savages, but of establishing a hierarchy of savage encounters by comparing the management of race in different colonial settings.

Elbourne has stated that the governance of aboriginal populations in Britain's empire was highly 'networked,' i.e., cross-referenced between (and not just within) far-flung colonies by a cadre of professional men.[84] Such networking was an inter-imperial phenomenon and common in nineteenth-century India.[85] Attempting to locate colonialism in the Andamans within a history of the management and destruction of savages when the Andamanese were in an advanced stage of their condition as a 'dying race,' Portman invoked a past calamity of empire:

> Though the race are now rapidly becoming extinct . . . , the English have nothing to reproach themselves with regarding the Andamanese, whatever may have been the case in Tasmania; and, having the unfortunate experiences of that penal colony, and our treatment of the aborigines there, before them, the Government of India have adopted a policy towards the aborigines of the Andaman Islands which has made them, above all races of savages, the most carefully tended and petted.[86]

The racial truth of the Andamanese was thus imagined with direct reference to a particular savagery exemplified by Tasmanians and extermination. Portman was not original in making the Tasmanian connection; Man had also found an 'affinity' between the Andamanese with 'the extinct negroid race of Tasmanians,' basing this affinity on 'similarity of moral and social characteristics,' linguistic analysis[87] and microscopic comparison of hair follicles.[88] During an exhibition-tour of Calcutta by the Andamanese in 1893, the editors of the *Statesman* bemoaned the death of Truganini and 'the disappearance of the aborigine, especially the pure, throughout Australia.'[89] Earlier, Fytche had written while studying Andamanese captives:

> Upon the island continent of Australia, the true Papuan type has never been detected, but it formerly constituted the people of Tasmania, so numerous at the time of Captain Cook's visit, but which race is now all but extinct, three or four individuals only surviving. The history of the capture of the last remnant of the race inhabiting Tasmania is well known, and . . . it is remarkable that they died off fast and chiefly from pulmonary consumption. The same [is true] of the New Zealander, belonging to a very different kind of human race . . . [90]

The race of the savage, in this construction, is closely tied to fragility: specifically, the condition of a relic that crumbles when exposed to civilization unless the civilized are especially careful. Tasmanians function as a metaphor of a failed experiment that killed its specimens. There are, in Fytche as well as in Portman, undertones of horror, but more than that, a mild regret

accompanied by wonderment. This wonder is increasingly scientific, rooted in cadavers and fossils.

Portman constructed himself and his regime as colonizers who were aware of the Australian experience and cognizant of its mistakes. He was the more expert manager of savages at the level of local governance precisely because he could see the wider historical and geographical picture of race and colonialism. Portman rejected Fytche's commentary, writing:

> Col. Fytche is entirely in error in considering the Papuans . . . to be the parent race of the Negrito stock, the latter being by far the older, and Papuans not being true Negritos. It is doubtful whether there are any true Negritos in Sumatra or Borneo, and those in the mountains of the Malay Peninsula . . . are not pure. The Negritos of the Phillipines [*sic*], and the now extinct Tasmanians, seem to have been, besides the Andamanese, the only pure Negrito races in modern times.[91]

He quibbled only with Fytche's conclusions, not his methods or underlying assumptions about races and places. For him, as for Fytche, extinct Tasmanians heightened the importance of the Andamanese: the latter (along with the Aeta) were the last 'pure' vestige of the wonder of the misplaced African in a world that was being rapidly contaminated by colonialism itself, with its germs, migrations, miscegenations and habits (like tobacco and alcohol) that left their marks on the racialized body. Britons in the Andamans had a corresponding importance as their discoverers, near-destroyers and keepers.

The 'lessons' of Australia informed policy and perceptions in the Andamans from the outset of the second colony, but administrators in the Andamans drew inconsistent conclusions from Australian history. Very occasionally, they saw it as a model that they might emulate: while Portman cannot be categorized as what Smithers (adapting John Fiske) has identified as an 'evolver' or colonial supervisor of racial progress,[92] it is almost certain that Portman's vision of his role in the clearing was partially derived from the Australian office of the Protector.[93] Seeking to justify the regime's expenditure on the Andaman Homes in 1867, Superintendent B. Ford reminded the Government of India that 'Such Homes and such expenditure are still incurred by the Government in Australia, to maintain friendly relations with the Aborigines.'[94]

More commonly, however, observers in Calcutta and Port Blair saw in Australia a colonialism that had failed to insulate and protect natives from settlers.[95] Portman himself saw a parallel between the impact of rapacious lower-class whites in Australia and the interaction with the Andamanese of violent and corrupting convicts and soldiers. The Homes of the 1860s, with their Indian staff and white guards, were for Portman a hallmark of bad

race-management reminiscent of Australia. When aboriginal women gave birth to 'mixed' babies, he perceived it not just as a matter of scientific curiosity, but as a failure of governance and evidence of racial death.[96] It is not that British administrators were oblivious to the different political and racial realities of a white settler colony and a colony for native convicts, but they believed that the very ambiguity of Port Blair's status as a settler colony generated a common racial condition for the Andamanese and the indigenous Australians.[97]

Australian experiences with race thus reinforced a model of governance along with the dominant models of savagery and 'purity' in the Andamans. The fetishized dying race was not the only such model. During armed clashes in 1863 that followed an attempt by a sailor named Pratt to rape an aboriginal woman near Port Blair, his killing by the Andamanese and R.C. Tytler's open desire for massive retribution, the Home Department reminded the Superintendent:

> The same series of events has presented itself over and over again with the Australian aborigines, the friendly intercourse, excessive confidence on the part of the European, then unexplained treachery from the natives. The over-confidence first felt by the Englishmen . . . was a mistake, but the severity you recommend would be a still greater mistake. You [are to] dismiss all idea of a general hunt after the aborigines, in view to transporting them to a separate island.[98]

In the Home Department's vision of racialized savages, Australian and Andamanese aborigines were both characterized by weakness rather than political-military capability. Their acts of violence were therefore seen as the consequences of the stupidity of white settlers in the face of natives who had already been defeated. The violence of colonial power had to be moderated and modulated accordingly; Britons in the islands could not be permitted to behave either as 'voyagers' or as settlers. In the process, the familiar 'treachery' of the Andamanese savage was rendered as a predictable racial characteristic that could be 'proved' – and managed – with reference to the behavior of other aborigines in similar racial-political circumstances.

'Other' mirrors

Occasionally, unlikelier races and savages surfaced in the Andamans. Corbyn highlighted an Andamanese tendency to torture and mutilate runaway convicts in a manner reminiscent of eighteenth-century narratives of the Iroquois.[99] He wrote:

> Two escaped convicts were brought to Ross [on July 4, 1863], who had been ill-treated and shot at by the aborigines, and one of them so badly wounded that no hope was entertained for his recovery. Soon after the death of Pratt . . . acts of cruel hostility to the Settlement on the part of the [aborigines] were of almost daily occurrence.[100]

On another occasion, he wrote at length about 'that malicious pleasure which savages find in seeing their victims writhe and look miserable under the tortures which they inflict upon them.'[101] Corbyn's perspective is entirely consistent with his perception of the Andamans as a settler colony, his grouping of Indians and Britons under an unequally shared settler umbrella, and his opposition to any attempt by the Port Blair regime to persuade aborigines to capture runaway convicts. Portman, who rejected the settler-colony vision of the Andamans and supported the use of the Andamanese to hunt runaways (he believed that the inland-dwelling Eremtaga were excellent trackers, although not as good as Australian aborigines[102]), conceded that convicts had been tortured by aborigines.[103] He nevertheless accused Corbyn of distorting or inventing incidents of quasi-Iroquois behavior by the Andamanese. 'This [is] an exaggeration; no such acts are mentioned in Col. Tytler's reports,' he remarked about Corbyn's narrative of the July 4 episode.[104] Furthermore, he saw in Corbyn a sentimental fondness for ex-mutineers who were not only the colonial subjects, prisoners and racial inferiors of the British, but moral and political savages in their own right. This sentimentality, he suggested, had led Corbyn to misread the Andamanese racially and respond incorrectly as an administrator. Portman wrote:

> These same 'poor convicts,' for whom Mr. Corbyn had so much sympathy, had only a few years before been doing far worse to Europeans of both sexes in India. One would suppose that Mr. Corbyn had got his ideas of savages from the accounts of the North American Indians, who do not in any way resemble the Andamanese. The latter have many of the mental characteristics of the Negro, and he should have studied the accounts of the Hottentots and the Tasmanians.[105]

The true Iroquois in the Andamans, Portman implied, were the Indians. The Mutiny was rarely referenced so explicitly in savage-management in the Andamans, but here it provided alternative treacherous savages who needed to be balanced by the better-managed, more precisely imagined, correctly racialized savages under Portman's authority.

Corbyn's remarks were not, however, a random exaggeration. His idea that the Andamanese took pleasure in torturing convicts was a displacement on to the savage of the British pleasure in the savage encounter: Corbyn

understood the pleasure of torturing natives, even if he did not indulge in it himself. For all Corbyn's disapproval, that enjoyment functioned as an imagined bond between Briton and aborigine, like Kipling's fantasy that Britons and tribesmen on the Northwest Frontier both played and enjoyed the same 'game.' The Andamans were, after all, a British-Indian penal colony, and Indian and European savages were inescapable points of reference for the Andamanese. In spite of the best efforts of British administrators to separate the Andamanese from 'criminal tribes' and their European counterparts, there were frequent slippages:[106] Portman mentioned the foolishness of convicts who might be tempted by the prospect of a 'Gipsy life' among aborigines.[107]

Explicit comparisons with Europeans were, in fact, common in the Andamans as British observers sought to locate the islanders relative to whiteness and civilization. Europe was an implicit point of reference in the mythical, pre-settlement discourse of the Andamans, but only as a generalized construction of what was known and human. Once Britons established historical footprints in the islands, however, the proximity between the aborigines and Europeans was articulated almost as often as the distance between them, in what Sangari has called the ironic secretion of Europe in the tropics.[108] Kyd sought to establish a cultural point of amused and condescending recognition, writing in 1794 that the Andamanese had displayed something like 'the strange republican dance asserted by Voltaire to have been exhibited in England.'[109] In the next century, correcting Man's attestation of Andamanese 'modesty,'[110] Portman clarified that the aborigines possessed an 'Elizabethan' sense of humor, relating the savage not only to an ancestral and classical stage of normative Englishness, but also to English subalterns and the unacknowledged selves of the English elite of his own time.[111] The later assessments of similarity and difference were more frequently rooted in the body. Rejecting a medical officer's comments about the exotic 'protruding bellies' and thin limbs of the islanders, Man argued that such specimens were no more representative of the Andamanese than patients in a London hospital were of the English.[112] Trying to explain the everyday health of the Andamanese, Portman declared their body temperatures to be 'very near that of the Aryan family,' and likened them to 'street boys in England [who] appear to have a slight running cold.'[113] The exotic race dying of syphilis could, in a sudden turn of phrase, be transformed into sniffling English urchins: simultaneously subaltern, familiar and juvenile.

It is not coincidental that the marginally delinquent white child functioned as a broad slate on which upper-class colonizers in India and elsewhere inscribed their fantasies of native identity.[114] Such children were plastic, blank and strategically placed between Self and Other. The lower-class English schoolboy was the perfect physical and psychological analogy for the savage in the Andamans: too young, alien and inferior to have moral or intellectual

substance, imitative rather than comprehending (let alone innovative), but nevertheless recognizable, comprehensible and manageable by the competent and confident authority of upper-class adults. It made sense to Portman to refer to his regime as 'the English public school system,'[115] especially since in the colonial context, the 'English public school' was a metaphor of the discipline of the colonizer/educator and not of the native/student.[116]

The connections with whiteness ensured that in spite of the overwhelming focus on the savage body in the second colony, the cultural components of race remained relevant. Describing the 'disposition' of the Andamanese savage, Portman wrote:

> They are gentle and pleasant to each other, and kind to children, but, having no legal or other restraint on their passions, are easily roused to anger, when they commit murder. They are certainly cruel, and are jealous, treacherous, and vindictive; they have short memories for either good or evil, are quick tempered, and have little or no idea of gratitude. They are affectionate to their wives, and their worst qualities are kept for strangers. I have often likened them to English country schoolboys of the labouring classes, with the passions of the mature savage. [T]heir passions are purely *animal*, and never *bestial* [emphases original] as is the case with more highly civilized savages.[117]

The post-mythical, historicized and racialized Andamanese savage was thus familiar enough to be recognizable, but different enough to carry the moral and political baggage not only of his own inferiority and subjugation, but that of others. He was better than white subalterns in some ways, but never a challenge to the superiority of the elite colonizer. The distinction that Portman made between the animal and the bestial reflects his desire to distinguish between savages who did not challenge their categorization as such, and those (like white subalterns and Indians) who did. Superiority to subaltern whites is narrowly contextual: like Arthur Thomson among the Maori in the mid-nineteenth century,[118] Portman informs us that 'the sight of the Andamanese does not appear to be superior to that of the ordinary European, who, if he passed through the same training, would see as well as they do.'[119] Similarly, we are told that 'in no single study can they be compared favourably with Europeans; science, religion, and trade being probably their worst points.'[120] Andamanese children swam earlier and better than English boys and Somalis, Man observed, but happily the English grew up to be the fastest swimmers.[121] The European was thus a signifier of a shifting but precise racial location for the savage in the colony.

The politics of comparative savagery was most dramatically highlighted in the Port Blair regime's use of naval troops during the clashes of the late

1850s and early 1860s, culminating in the incident in which Pratt was killed. On the one hand, this deployment of subaltern whiteness was entirely consistent with the modality of colonial counterinsurgency, which seeks to utilize the delinquent sections of civilization to fight savages with a savagery that can be displaced and left invisible.[122] There is also, arguably, an assumption that savages will understand instinctively how to deal with other savages. When Friday, Tuesday, Crusoe and Jumbo were sent to Burma in 1861, for instance, they were placed in the charge of an English sailor.[123] He knocked Crusoe's teeth out 'for some real or supposed provocation.'[124] In the early days of the Andaman Home, naval troops supervised the aborigines detained there.[125] White savagery was a valuable imperial asset, and unlike the French regime in New Caledonia, administrators in the Andamans did not envision throwing it away by civilizing its human material.[126]

On the other hand, the 'outsourcing' of savage-management to white savages was a source of great discomfort to British administrators. Mouat exemplified this discomfort. He could write about European sailors in his entourage with Kiplingesque affection. In one curious episode, they tell him their life stories; he retells the confessions, producing a strand of whiteness that is offset by the blackness beyond the *Pluto*.[127] The ship was an island confronting other islands, their respective inhabitants set poles apart by the technology of the vessel, the nature of the sea, and the beaches of Dening's felicitous imagination.[128] But just as the mutual resemblance of British and Andamanese islanders was largely ironic, the opposition was unreliable. Adapting Paul Gilroy, it might be said that the crewing of 'European' ships itself blurred the lines of race.[129] Whiteness became degraded, and Mouat was explicit that the sailors were 'a strange outgrowth of modern civilization, a sort of varnished savages,' with an irrational love of mirrors, subject to unpredictable lapses (one man is left 'trembling . . . hatless, shoeless, and speechless' by fear of the Andamanese) and precariously held back by military discipline from sabotaging his expedition.[130] The Pratt affair made it clear that the unrestrained violence of white subalterns could not always be kept invisible, and that its visibility threatened the distance between black/savages and all whites. The fact that Pratt had attempted to rape an Andamanese woman, and evidence that such attempts by white soldiers were not uncommon,[131] generated a special unease; not only was cross-racial sexual contact embarrassing to the prestige of the colony,[132] it was destructive of the biological 'purity' of the Andamanese. Later in the century, this unease reinforced the conviction that the sexually restrained upper-class expert, rather than the lower-class white soldier, was best equipped to understand, supervise and play with the savage.

Not surprisingly, Portman – who had penetrated more deeply into the jungle than Mouat and left barrack-room whiteness behind – declared that

'The Naval Brigadesmen seem to have been very undisciplined, and were as usual troublesome and disorderly,' and banished them from the clearing to a considerable extent.[133] Exceptions were made during aggressive operations against the Onge and the Jarawa, when white troops were again called upon, but Portman gives the impression of having kept them on a short leash.[134] It was he, and not the common soldiers, who burned the huts of the Andamanese. The white mirror, in this relatively late period, was useful precisely as that: a racial screen on which the Andamanese might be imaged and assessed, but that could not be allowed to merge with the savage it reflected.

Race and savage nature

The construction of racial identities for the Andamanese was a process by which British colonizers assembled a body of knowledge about the nature of the savage as it was colonized: an assessment of what was stable in that nature, what was mutable, and what the conditions and consequences of mutation might be. It was critical to the idea of an 'Andamanese' entity that had meaning beyond geography alone, that might support theories about Andamanese pasts and futures, and that might be linked or contrasted with other newly constructed races. It sought to create the major models of savagery in the Andamans and to establish the limits beyond which the models would fail. The 'Andamanese race,' in these circumstances, was determined by nineteenth-century observers as a fundamentally schizophrenic entity. It was resilient, yet prone to disappearance. It was isolated and prehistoric, but generated in a historical world of racial encounters.

Membership in a race universalized the Andamanese: it was a normative anthropological location. At the same time it rendered them peculiar as a specific population. Well into the nineteenth century, however, it remained unclear just how peculiar the Andamanese were and what the content of their peculiarity might be. Describing the adaptability of aborigines who had lived with colonizers in the islands and beyond, Portman drew attention to

> the interesting fact, so much doubted and derided, (. . .) that these poor people, though they have been so long neglected, possess mental capabilities not at all inferior to others, that . . . the Almighty has endowed them with faculties which are common to the human race, and which have so long lain dormant in them only because the attempt has not been made to bring them into exercise.[135]

Portman was repackaging E. S. Brander's theory that Andamanese children were not devoid of 'brain power' and that this power lay 'dormant and unused

in their savage state.'[136] Man had also agreed with Brander, declaring that Andamanese boys under the age of 14 were at least as intelligent as 'ordinary middle-class children of civilised races,' but that their 'precocity' faded past that age.[137] While there is a strong echo in this vision of the ideology of colonial trusteeship,[138] there is also an assumption that unlike trustee races in mainland India, who might evolve to become semi-civilized troublemakers, the savage in the trust of the colonizer would die in the process of revealing his capabilities. Universalizing the islanders as familiar/humans, Brander, Man and Portman also reified their status as inferior/savages, and these visions had to be reconciled within a single, coherent construction of race.

In his ethnographic work in the 1890s, Portman described the mental capabilities of aborigines he had gathered and studied:

> The intellect of the Andamanese youth, and his capacity for grasping matters entirely foreign to his natural state, is considerable, and I have noticed that this special intelligence (as distinct from hunting ability, etc., which is of the savage order) is usually accompanied by refined features (especially the nose and mouth), also by an irritable temper, indicative of the nervous temperament. This intelligence, and the tractability and usefulness of the Andamanese men, becomes less . . . after they pass forty years of age. They then become more savage and quarrelsome in disposition.[139] [Parentheses in original.]

Here, as in Man's earlier assessment, a distinction is made above between two kinds of intelligence, one of which approaches a universal ability transcending culture, place and race. The other is rooted in those specifics, and is depicted by Portman as inferior and savage. The Andamanese are said to lose the former and lapse into the latter as they lose the flexibility of youth. Not only does the observation reflect Portman's aesthetic interest in youthful savages,[140] it indicates simultaneous British investments in two notions of savagery in the Andamans in the later nineteenth century. The aborigine is, on the one hand (and up to an age upon which Man and Portman disagreed), an experimental racial plastic that can be molded, impressed, appropriated and transformed into shapes that reflect authority and generate wonder. The young savage is, in that sense, capable of transcending race, if not savagery itself. On the other hand, the aborigine is fixed in physical, moral and political attitudes that constitute savage nature: obtuse or treacherous, resistant to political pressure, inclined to die if removed from the islands or made to work. Man and Portman both describe the Andamanese as *becoming* more savage as they get older.[141] Race is seen as something that congeals in the body of the savage like the habituality of the contemporary 'habitual criminal.'[142]

Because of the duality of the nature ascribed to the Andamanese, it is useful to think of its racial fabric in terms of elasticity rather than plasticity. It can be altered or distorted, Portman implies, but it snaps back to an essential stability. Echoing Cook's century-old observation that savages do not retain the benefits of occasional contact with civilization,[143] he writes:

> We have evidence in the present time to show that Andamanese who have been educated in civilization for years, and appeared to have lost their savage ways, have gone back to their tribe, and entirely lost their veneer of civilization, and have not only not introduced a single abstract idea among their tribesmen, but . . . not even altered their habits in practical matters affecting their comfort, health, etc.[144]

But where Cook had wonderment, Portman had an explanation. Elasticity informed the British understanding of the impact of colonialism upon the Andamanese, their imminent demise as a race (in the narrow sense), and the more generalized evaporation of a broader Africanized/Negrito race that included Tasmanians and Papuans. Portman became convinced that the Andamanese were on the verge of extinction because the elasticity of the race had failed: they were unable to recover from the distorting effects of civilization, with its germs, enticements and misguided experiments, which had 'demoralized' them beyond effective repair.[145]

The notion of demoralization substantially replaced the older idea of racial degeneracy, which had driven Henry Hopkinson to advocate (in 1856) the recolonization of the Andamans. Hopkinson had argued that the islands were too important a strategic asset to leave 'in the possession of a handful of degenerate negroes, degraded in habits and intelligence.'[146] This construction of degeneracy was, paradoxically, quite optimistic, because it included the possibility of recovery. At the same time, it affirmed a political hierarchy that would survive that regeneration. Haughton, in 1859, believed that the Andamanese could climb out of savagery and into civilization, but he also believed that the very necessity of climbing (or regenerating) affirmed a 'scale' of humanity – i.e., race – which would contain the ex-savage.[147] Corbyn, in his first brush with the inmates of the Andaman Home in 1863, was ready to see in the behavior of individual aborigines the signs of a high racial intelligence.[148] He interpreted this, however, as the intelligence of promising children, which would remain at the level of promise since the children were not expected to grow or change significantly. A measure of civilization was latent in the savage (as proved by Andamanese servants who learned to speak English and play the piano[149]), but savagery would remain latent in the civilized Andamanese, preserving the order of the colony.

In spite of this reassuring prospect, administrators in Port Blair – beginning with Haughton himself – quickly began to express the view that flexibility in young aborigines was not altogether desirable,[150] not only because of the colonial fear of deracinated natives,[151] but also because flexibility corrupted the pristine condition outside which the savage became worthless and non-viable. Worth and viability were, in fact, connected at the level of race. This connection is clear in the case of Sambo and Topsy, Andamanese boys taken to Bengal in 1867 who became the focus of tension between their guardians in Bengal and Port Blair. F.C. Anderson, the Barrack-Master of Calcutta's Fort William, and the Reverend Stern of the Burdwan Boys' Orphanage had the contradictory agendas of exhibiting the children as savages while also civilizing them within a conventionally colonial educational trajectory.[152] E. H. Man, who wanted the boys returned to the islands and feared they would become useless misfits if deracinated by their Bengali experience, found the Anderson-Stern project dangerous.[153] He was quickly vindicated when the children died in Bengal. The clash over the boys underlines the ambiguous value of fixed racial identity in the colony – Man, Anderson and Stern could not agree whether to reinforce and preserve the racial core of the children, or to accept and facilitate a potential for mutation – but it also underlines a growing sense among administrators in the Andamans that savages were, at the level of culture as well as biology, incapable of surviving attempts to civilize them. This incapability was both a fact of their race, and an effect of civilization upon it.

By the late 1860s, the 'degraded' nature of the Andamanese was closely tied not to savagery itself, but to deracination and the failure of the civilizing mission. When Homfray and his colleagues asked themselves why their aborigines were not 'regenerating,' the answer was the hypothesis of demoralization, which appeared to be confirmed in the 1870s by the overwhelming evidence of disease and depopulation.[154] Portman, who embraced the hypothesis ardently, was in any case impatient with crude concepts that emphasized a fall from (or failure to reach) a universal/European cultural standard of race, with its overtly oppositional relationship to nature. The idea of demoralization was better aligned with his neo-Romantic ambivalence towards the modern impact on the natural.[155] Accordingly, he sought to retrieve the Andamanese from the charge of degeneracy by emphasizing that they were, in fact, damaged in their natural savagery and frozen in that state of damage, which experts like him could manage and display but not reverse. This damaged condition was the fabric of their race both locally (as Andamanese) and widely (as savages). The racial hallmark of the savage in the nineteenth-century colony was thus a flawed elasticity that invited manipulation by the civilized but was destroyed and left inert by the experience. Destruction itself could take more than one form. It could, as in

Tasmania, mean total extinction. It could also, however, mean the brittleness of the fossil, as it did in the Andamans.

Conclusion

Casting the Andamanese as a lost race and locating them within a set of scientific and historical relationships to other races allowed Britons to make sense of the islands, the islanders and themselves, not only in the chaotic contests of the jungle and the empire, but in the contemplative stillness of the pacified clearing. It was, in that sense, a taming maneuver: the construction of a discovery as a mysterious fragment, the ordering of the whole to which it might belong and the imposition of authority not only on the colonized but on the colonial encounter itself. The mystery and its solutions informed the shape that governance took on as administrators and experts sought to control what they had regenerated.

They were successful, but not always in ways they might have anticipated. In 1864–1865, A.P. Phayre (Chief Commissioner of British Burma), Ford and the Government of India discussed assigning white and Eurasian convicts to teach aboriginal children at the Home.[156] Ford and Phayre balked, seeing an unacceptable risk to the moral and racial purity of the Andamanese.[157] Phayre and Archdeacon John Pratt of Calcutta then proposed that the government supply a missionary teacher, but the suggestion was ignored by the Home Department, possibly because it would have entailed a salary commensurate with a 'hardship post.' The children remained mainly in the supervision of Indian convicts with no 'white blood' at all. Looking back at the incident, Portman was predictably disapproving, not only because he disliked any scheme that would expose the Andamanese to the 'wrong' whites (including missionaries), but because Indian convicts were a contaminating influence.

There are at least three noteworthy aspects to the conversation about convict teachers. One is the assumption that Eurasians and subaltern whites were a particular kind of colonial resource, well suited to irregular jobs, dealing with irregular populations and teaching an irregular version of colonial subject-hood. Yet these proposals were difficult to implement in the Andamans, because administrators had come to see the Andamanese as a race that would not survive the clumsy touch of civilization. The second, contradictory, aspect is that Indian convicts were found to be suitable teachers, if only barely. This reflects the threadbare quality of the link between ideology and practice in colonial governance that is sometimes ignored by scholars of empire: what was desirable was not necessarily practicable, and colonizers often simply 'made do.' The third point, a corollary of the second, is that in spite of the desire of elite Britons for an unmediated racial encounter with

savages in the islands, Indian convicts could not be kept out of the clearing, where there were at least three races, not two, as Beadon had fantasized. Under these circumstances, neither the Andamanese 'race' nor the intimacy of the savage encounter could be sustained for very long. The discourse of racial extinction that came to envelop the Andamanese was, to a great extent, a product of the gap between the fantasy and reality of race-management in the colony. Pristine savages could not survive such untidy political conditions; they were, in that sense, already extinct.

2 Counterinsurgency and the jungle

> Just when we got in among them, determined to scatter them in all directions, our illusion was dispelled, and what we had taken to be a numerous body of savages was discovered to be . . . charred and twisted trees, about the height of men, branches extended like arms. Can anyone imagine such a revulsion of feeling?
>
> Mouat, 1863

From the moment that Britons arrived in the Andamans in 1789, they were engaged in war against the aboriginal population. This violence, which continued through the inter-settlement period and beyond, did not involve large concentrations of troops and weapons. Rather, it was an erratic pattern of skirmishing and guerrilla warfare that was highly 'irregular' in the ways in which it was conducted, experienced, narrated and imagined by Europeans. It was not a war for territory, a war of extermination, or a consistent attempt to bring about fundamental transformations in Andamanese society. It was, rather, an exercise in the taming of the savage on the edge of the colony, in which tameness was imagined not as the end of the war but as a fleeting and renewable part of the experience of violence.

It is useful to conceptualize warfare in the colonial Andamans as 'counterinsurgency,' but that characterization must be qualified at the outset. These operations were not deployed against the model of peasant insurgency that subalternist historians have outlined, which presumes the existence of at least two more or less stable political bodies engaged in relations of economic and social domination: struggles over the appropriation of labor, land and revenue.[1] Insurgency, in that context, is the disruption of a tense equilibrium. In the Andamans, there was no 'uprising': no abandonment of an extant arrangement of power by formerly acquiescent 'rebels.' The insurgency of the savage was an existential condition constituted by savagery itself, and by a closely related condition, which was the failure of the Andamanese to

become British subjects in spite of their presence in a British geography. Because the regime in Port Blair vacillated on eradicating Andamanese savagery but could not desist from engaging the islanders as colonizers, counterinsurgency became an unending mode of the savage encounter: a propulsive force shaped by the shifting priorities of settlers, jailors, rulers and aborigines, moving savagery from model to model.

We can identify a loose structure of four phases of counterinsurgency in the Andamans. The initial phase begins with the first settlement and continues through the inter-settlement decades. It is the period when significant numbers of Britons and Indians first establish a presence in the islands, come face to face with the islanders and engage them politically; it is also in this phase that the settlement is abandoned but retained within the European imagination by an intermittent drip of 'visits,' shipwrecks and their associated narratives. It is marked by small-scale military expeditions, oriented towards exploration and discovery but without significant penetrative intent. It is formulated around a modest agenda of dominance in limited contexts.

The second phase extends from the establishment of the second settlement in 1858 until the creation of the original Andaman Home in 1863. In this period the Andamanese engage in organized resistance on a fairly large scale: attempting to disrupt or dislodge the Port Blair colony (including the so-called 'Battle of Aberdeen' in May 1859, when the forces of the settlement beat off a determined attack[2]), ambushing convicts as they hacked deeper into the interior of Great Andaman, and skirmishing with white troops in the jungles around Port Blair. It is marked by extensive violence driven by settler-colonial agendas, an intensified emphasis on establishing the dominance of the state, and open hostility towards aborigines on the part of the settlement administration. This phase also sees the beginnings of delinquent colonialism in the Andamans, i.e., the colonizers' experience of counterinsurgency as illicit and erotic experiences that cannot be openly acknowledged as pleasurable.

The third phase is the period 1863–1880, from the establishment of the Home through the epidemics. At this stage, the everyday struggles over dominance have become concentrated in the institutions of the clearing: the Homes, the Orphanage. Counterinsurgency is no longer represented nakedly as warfare. Instead, it is reoriented towards discovery, involving long-range and ethnographic penetration of the jungle by Corbyn, Homfray, Man and their associates. While soldiers continue to be involved, emphasis has shifted away from the state to the individual experience of violence and pleasure. The settler–colonial paradigm, while less overt, continues to inform the identification of friends and foes. The aggressive deployment of epidemic medicine also marks this phase of counterinsurgency.

The final stage develops between 1880 and the end of the century. Contemporary with the 'Portman era' in the Andamans, it is marked by a

sharp dichotomy between the pacified realm of Portman's home and the remaining unpacified pockets of the jungle. While it includes the conquest of Little Andaman and the intensification of anti-Jarawa operations, the settler-colonial agenda is largely (although not entirely) set aside. Counterinsurgency is re-imagined in this phase as hunting, and justified (occasionally) in scientific-primitivist terms. Coinciding with an 'enlightened and humane' period when savagery in the islands was explicitly marked for recuperation, it is also the apex of delinquent colonialism.

Contradictions between and within the phases were acceptable in the trajectory of counterinsurgency because there was no unified packet of goals. There were, instead, shifting processes of production. There was in the Andamans an important if inconsistent separation between the social space of the colony and the political territory of the islands: while both were claimed by the colonial regime, they were claimed distinctly, and it was rarely envisioned that the colony would become coterminous with the archipelago. There was thus a continuous mismatch between two visions of the colony: one territorial, the other social. The spatial and rhetorical manifestation of this mismatch was the jungle: a space that was defeated and defeating, named yet exotic, penetrated yet virginal. Counterinsurgency produced and sustained the jungle as a space definitively separate from (but proximal to, and indicative of) the colony, where savages could be isolated and killed but also encountered and preserved. Counterinsurgency also produced two jungle creatures. One was the savage as an identifiable tribal and moral entity. The other was the male colonizer in a particular mode: a creature of irrational violence, barely tamed by the language of governance, confounded but not immobilized by his inability to 'read' the Andamanese. It might be argued that counterinsurgency generated incomprehension itself as a vital and not altogether undesirable colonial experience.

Settler–colonialism in the Andamans

The second penal settlement in the Andamans was intended from the outset to be a colony where Indian convicts might settle down as an orderly and productive society of peasants, tradespeople, small merchants and government employees. Once Mouat had recertified the islands ecologically and commercially as a 'very pleasant and attractive place of residence, [where] the great defect was the character of the [indigenous] people,'[3] his colleagues moved quickly to implement schemes that might facilitate long-term settlement, such as licensing 'self-supporter' convicts who were allowed considerable local freedom, and importing criminalized women who might breed a self-perpetuating population.[4] (In this regard, the 1858 settlement was different from its predecessor, which generated few women, a modest

engagement with the land, and no sustained settler-colonial fantasy.[5]) The penal colony was the organizational and ideological core of what was otherwise to be an outpost of India and the empire.

The aborigines whose forests made room for the settlers had a highly ambiguous place in this vision. They were, in most circumstances, imagined by Britons as external to the settlement. Nevertheless, contrary to what Wolfe has argued in the case of Australia, there was no clear 'logic of elimination' in settler-colonialism in the Andamans.[6] In addition, Wolfe's organization of the settler-colonial savage encounter into phases marked by 'confrontation, carceration and assimilation' does not fit well in the Andamans, where there were sporadic experiments with the first two strategies but little interest in the third.[7] This was a colony where the 'aboriginal problem' involved formulating the modes and spaces in which aborigines might live separately from settlers. The discourse of imminent Andamanese extinction is of course an elimination fantasy, but there remained a place in the islands – if not in the colony – for dying aborigines. British colonialism in India, which was the primary model that informed the settlement of convicts in the Andamans, was based on the articulation, management and preservation of social compartments rather than wholesale mergers,[8] and it is not surprising that the Government of India regarded any step towards 'assimilating' the Andamanese as subversive of discipline.[9]

In addition, political desire in a settlement like the Andamans, in which most settlers – being non-white colonial subjects – are not supposed to have political desires at all, is inevitably different from politics in Australia, Canada or South Africa. Settler-colonialism in the Andamans functioned on the basis of three parallel political imaginaries. In one, Britons imagine the Indians do not exist, and that the savage encounter is between the Andamanese and a tiny colony of whites. In the second, Britons slip into identifying with the Indians, or identifying the Indians with themselves as 'civilized,' but only contingently and never to the degree that they would confuse civilization with race. 'Our convicts were . . . strange pioneers of civilization,' Mouat noted, trying to articulate an ideology for the interaction of criminalized natives and outright savages.[10] In the third, Indian convicts develop their own, autonomous and submerged political interests vis-à-vis aborigines and whites; these interests are not recognized by Britons as a legitimate concern in policy-making. There were, as such, many settler colonies in the Andamans, and their priorities and experiences did not impact upon aboriginal policy similarly or equally. It might be argued, on that basis, that there was no settler colony in the Andamans, but that would impose a definition of settler-colonialism that is too narrow to accommodate the reality of Indian migrations within the British empire, which was also – unevenly – an empire of Indians.

Settler-colonialism is not just a mode of imagining civilization and savagery, but a state of war that circles back to inform the vision of the colony.[11] This dynamic surfaces in the narratives from the first settlement, where Blair found himself unable to decide whether the Andamanese were threatening or friendly.[12] That uncertainty located aborigines beyond comprehension and governance, and the British-Indian government quickly backed away from aggressive military, political and cultural interventions. Kyd was told in 1893 that he must leave the Andamanese 'in the Same State of Freedom, in every respect, as that in which you find them.'[13] That vision was both reinforced and altered in the inter-settlement period. In November 1840, two ships – the *Briton* and the *Runnymede*, carrying troops for the conquest of Punjab – ran aground in the islands in a storm during a voyage from (fittingly enough) Australia. The marooned soldiers and crew spent months in a makeshift camp on a beach before being rescued. They skirmished continuously with the Andamanese. The memoirs of one survivor evoke a temporary colony with metaphorical wagons circled, besieged by 'natives' who are entirely and naturally external to the circle, and who are savage by virtue of that hostile externality. The 'colonists' are absorbed primarily in violence and secondarily in economic exchanges that the savages do not comprehend:

> Some of our men . . . were attacked by several natives, and four of them were wounded by their arrows; the men stood to their arms, and a party was dispatched in pursuit of the savages, but without success, the black rascals escaping into the jungle.
>
> A guard was mounted in the evening . . . to keep them at a respectful distance. The natives were perfectly naked, regular savages in both appearance and habits, and no doubt cannibals; there is little prospect of our receiving any assistance from them.
>
> Two . . . men were sent towards them with an old jacket . . . to see if it would . . . conciliate 'Blackey.' They placed it on a broken stump and retired . . ., making signs to the natives to take it; the black rascals immediately took the jacket down, trampled on it, and commenced an attack on our men in return for their kindness. They seem perfectly to understand the meaning of fire-arms, making off the moment they see a person with them, while they are equally ready to attack those [without guns].[14]

The fighting around the *Briton* and *Runnymede* also provides us with a rare, if heavily mediated and unreliable Andamanese perspective. Portman reported that he was able to interview aboriginal survivors of the clash, who boasted about having killed large numbers of 'colonists.'[15] Considering that

Portman's career in the islands began almost forty years after the shipwrecks, any stories that he heard were at best secondhand. It is also reasonable to doubt whether he and his informants had discussed the same wrecks. Nevertheless, that Portman would go to the trouble of constructing an Andamanese version of the savages-versus-colonists narrative indicates the power and longevity of the vision of the islands as a place where governance is fundamentally a matter of keeping savages out of the circle of civilization.

That vision was reinforced by another twin shipwreck: in 1849, the *Emily* and the *Flying Fish* were both beached on the islands, and the occupants spent some weeks fighting off the Andamanese before being rescued by the steamer *Proserpine*, which shelled the jungle before picking up the maroons. Captain Brookings, commander of the *Proserpine*, forwarded his logs to the Commissioner of Tennasserim:

> 24th October. – [Great Andaman] appears to be thickly inhabited by a hostile people, as the natives came armed to the beach watching our movements.
>
> 25th October. – Natives coming to the beach, armed as on the other Island, observed some with clothes on, supposed the same to have been stolen from the wreck, as these were the first with any one article of clothing on. 9 AM – Sighted the wreck. Natives very numerous on the beach, all armed.
>
> [F]eared that the Second Officer who was left on the wreck had met a violent death . . . Proceeded under cover of the steamer's guns . . . in case any of the natives should be concealed on board, when to our horror we found . . . the mangled remains of the late 2nd Officer. [T]he look-out man reported the natives . . . approaching the wreck . . . [I]n an incredibly short space of time more than two hundred natives had collected on the beach, all armed with spears, bows, etc., and as others were fast approaching from all directions . . . and . . . others were observed lurking . . . close to the wreck, gave directions . . . to open fire on them from the steamer. To show their daring not a man among them would move on the first round, but on the second round coming quickly and the shot falling fairly among them, a general yell was raised, and dropping their arms, they one and all took to flight. Our 24 and 9 pounders kept them at [bay], and . . . we were not again troubled by them.[16]

For Brookings, who is looking to save a group of stranded and menaced whites, the savage encounter is inseparable from naval shelling. Typically, the use of heavy weapons against the Andamanese was discouraged by British administrators, not least because it diminished the savagery of the target by

raising him to the level of a military adversary and an equal of sorts; simultaneously and paradoxically, it made the colonizer look less civilized. When whites were temporarily in settler mode on the beach, however, the use of guns and cannon became acceptable, because shipwrecked Europeans – the true Crusoes in the Andamans – did see aborigines as competitors, as superhuman bodies (who moved with 'incredible' speed in the jungle, like Japanese soldiers in the early Anglo-American discourse of the Second World War[17]), as the personification of horror, and (again, paradoxically) as vermin that might be hunted for pleasure, expediency or survival.

Thus, when Walker arrived in the Andamans with his convicts in 1858, a settler colony of the imagination was already in place, produced not only by the plans of the regime but also by the narrated experience of fighting off savages. As an administrative guideline, this simple *laager* model of the colony rapidly became inadequate as the 'frontier' was diffused by fluid interactions between Britons, Indians and Andamanese. Initially, however, the Port Blair regime conducted itself as if it was defending a compact circle of civilization from the black horde. Walker, who was brutal in his treatment of Indian prisoners (scores were hanged for trying to escape[18]), was even more violent in his approach to the Andamanese. He and his senior military officer, Lt. Templer, liberally deployed naval troops to intimidate, expel or kill aborigines in the vicinity of Port Blair, burning their villages and confiscating or destroying their boats.[19]

Faced with the disapproval of the Government of India, Walker justified his policies by articulating a space of legitimate self-defense. He told his superiors in Calcutta that the convicts, being 'the weaker race,' needed to be safeguarded against 'extermination.'[20] Walker also outlined his plans to establish a defensive perimeter of convict villages to 'strengthen the frontier against attacks from the savages.'[21] The colony in this vision was the frontier, inalienable from the racial violence that the word signified in the nineteenth century.[22] It was also the tense calm at the center of a racial and moral storm that simultaneously defined its boundaries and threatened to destroy it. Walker was clear that not only was fighting an inescapable aspect of the colony, the colony was a product of the fighting. 'The expulsion of the aboriginal savages from the Settlement lands . . . will be effected . . . as the occupation of the land by the convict settlers proceeds,' he predicted, adding that he was prepared to use force to ensure expulsion.[23]

Walker exemplifies a 'conventional' white settler-colonist approach to identifying and dealing with savages. The savage threatens the colony; the solutions are a frontier that is marked on terms favorable to the colonizer, separation between the physical worlds of the civilized and the savage, and the use of force to maintain this separation.[24] There is no thought of integrating or civilizing the savage into the political or social space of the colony. The

only significant political contact with the Andamanese that Walker imagines is violence, which becomes constitutive of their respective civilization and savagery. The bureaucrats in Calcutta were not entirely unsympathetic to this vision, but recoiled before the prospect of a militarized frontier. They understood that the Andamans were not a white settler colony or even the civil lines of an Indian town; there were few white families in Port Blair in 1858 whose civilized domesticity might balance and justify civilized massacres. This was a settlement of male Indian convicts and rebels, white subaltern males, and a few officers like Walker and Templer. (Women convicts and the wives of British officers would arrive only in the 1860s.) Their violence was too close to savagery in its own right, and Walker's superiors wanted none of it.

While this disagreement reflected the different priorities of the margin and the center, counterinsurgency in the Andamans was not disconnected from the mainland's own recent experience of war. Walker had been stationed in Agra during the 'Mutiny,' and much of the Naval Guard had been raised during that conflict.[25] For Walker and Templer, the obvious priority when faced with savages was to defend the automatically beleaguered colony, and the obvious strategy was to assert as spectacularly as possible the supremacy of regime and race, even if that meant including ex-Mutineers – the convicts in the Andamans – in the colony by an act of strategic forgetfulness.[26] For the bureaucrats who urged restraint,[27] the Andamans were primarily a penal colony, the convicts were rebels and criminals, and the aborigines were marked by an essential innocence that was closely tied to their 'weakness.' Not only did they not share Walker's perceptions of a military threat and political contest, they saw the Andamanese as colonial possessions, if not subjects, and as such, not entirely external to British sovereignty. (They were, in this regard, differently motivated from their predecessors who had urged Kyd to observe 'utmost . . . forbearance.'[28]) The continuous performance of subjugation that Walker demanded from aborigines was not especially important to his bosses. They too looked to the Mutiny for guidance, but drew different conclusions: the colony in the Andamans signified the end of that war. For the colonial government in the era of 'Clemency Canning,'[29] the transportation of thousands of rebels to the Andamans represented a postwar model of governance that overtly rejected a state of permanent counterinsurgency, and that reasserted a paternal relationship with juvenilized natives.

The tensions of the Walker era continued through the superintendencies of his immediate successors. Haughton was less aggressive but did not abandon the notion that the colony was a fortress, ordering that armed aborigines entering the settlement be shot.[30] Explaining the policy and expressing a certain pessimism about the long-term prospects of the colony, Haughton wrote to the Home Department:

> The course to adopt with regard to the Andamanese has been a source of much anxiety to me. If too much encouraged, our people are liable to be plundered, killed, or wounded; on the other hand, without some encouragement it would seem as if we must forever remain strangers, and at war with them.[31]

Evidently, Haughton felt that if he engaged the Andamanese benignly (or aggressively, for that matter), they would fight the settlers actively, and if he did not engage them at all, the default relationship would nevertheless be a state of war. The demand that aborigines leave their bows and arrows (which they habitually carried) behind when entering civilization was an attempt to manage this dilemma, but it was not a satisfying resolution, and not only because it was difficult to enforce without triggering new clashes. Haughton's order implied a rather modest notion of the colony, imagined as a set of small enclaves within the Andamans. While the level of violence decreased during the Haughton regime, it was partly because the colony had barricaded itself within manageable limits and reduced its incursions into the jungle outside.[32] Furthermore, the stand-off between the fortress and the jungle was easily broken: deadly confrontations flared sporadically between convict settlers and aborigines coveting bananas.[33] In January of 1863, more clashes erupted on the outskirts of the settlement, and R.C. Tytler's regime reverted to Walker-style counterinsurgency. The Home Department was furious with Tytler; as before, however, it was unable to articulate – or imagine – alternative terms on which the Andamanese might interact with the settlement.[34]

The Andaman Homes – the institutional core of the clearing – developed in this void of the imagination as an alternative site of colonial authority in a savage geography. By eliminating the strict binary of fortress and wilderness, it created a space for relations of power other than warfare, such as incarceration, education, work, economic exchange, medicine, ethnology and language-extraction. It is not coincidental that the Home followed directly upon the Pratt fiasco, as a place where the men accused of killing Pratt were imprisoned, transformed from enemies into inmates and curiosities.[35] In the process, they were removed from the theater of white soldiers and acquired by upper-class Britons like Corbyn.

This did not mean the end of counterinsurgency operations. The proliferating Homes became bases for forays into the jungle, and remained so into the twentieth century.[36] These often violent journeys were different from the fighting of the first five years of the colony. They were, for the most part, supervised by men who were also in charge of the Homes: Corbyn, Homfray, F. E. Tuson, Man, Portman. Superintendents and military officers were no longer directly involved in the management of savages. Expeditions into the jungle included soldiers, but were not consistently articulated in the language

of warfare. They became, instead, exercises in justice, science, discovery, and erotics somewhat more subtle than rape. Nevertheless, while the settler-colonial aspect of the savage encounter became less pronounced in these circumstances, it did not disappear. Two models of the savage – the political challenge to the settler colony, and the quasi-juvenile nuisance/specimen – came to coexist unevenly. The Home was a point of intersection between these two visions, in the sense that actual and potential insurgents could be brought in and converted into children (bad and good), but more than that, in the conceptual sense of a space where both visions could be incarnated and entertained by British officers.

In 1863, Corbyn made a series of journeys into the interior of Great Andaman. These were not unarmed expeditions, and there were frequent clashes with aborigines. It is apparent in Corbyn's own writing that these were adventures undertaken at least partly for the sake of fighting itself.[37] Yet his stated mission could not be more different from that of Walker or Templer: 'next to the duty of zealously watching over them to protect their lives and liberty,' Corbyn wrote piously, 'nothing can be of greater importance . . . than that Government should encourage . . . the study of their language, and the instruction in our language of their children, who . . . would be the best medium of communication with them.'[38] Looking back, Portman was not impressed by the sentiment, remarking that Corbyn had done little to follow through.[39] There is, however, an explanation for why Corbyn did not 'act' on his expressed desire to 'protect' aborigines and train their children as linguistic-political intermediaries. He was too imbedded in the settler-colony, and too entertained by the survival of the savage as a menace that could never be understood through more or less mutual processes of communication, such as conversation or language itself.

When Corbyn went on his armed expeditions, he saw himself as the representative of a colony that included convicts but not the Andamanese. During a series of sorties into the jungle in 1864, he wrote:

> In the beginning of this year, the South Tribe renewed their depradations, but with much more caution, avoiding the armed police and escaping into the jungles whenever they appeared; they seemed to obtain intelligence by some means, while the police were still at a distance, that they were approaching. The latter could not succeed in finding them, and never knew when or where to expect them, for they continually changed their positions . . ., and appeared successively in quite different directions where they knew the Native convicts would be least prepared to receive them. In this manner, not only was great damage done to the Settlement plantations, but serious loss was sustained by the . . . self-supporters whose gardens were completely cleared of all their produce. [T]here

> appeared no means of a stop to them without actual collision . . . [and] bloodshed. I sent a message by them . . . that they should be severely punished if any of the Native convicts at the outposts were again molested. These measures and warnings were more effectual in restraining their aggressive movements than the slaughter of half the tribe would have been.[40]

For the sake of the same convicts who were, in other contexts, deeply mistrusted by administrators in Port Blair, Corbyn and Tytler contemplated 'the slaughter of half the tribe,' if only semi-seriously. They were not alone in this outlook: Ford, who replaced Tytler as superintendent, recommended to the Government of India that the strip of land between Port Mouat and Port Blair be occupied by convict settlers to 'cut off' the southern part of Great Andaman and prevent the Andamanese from crossing into the colony. Ford suggested that Homfray be placed in charge of this strategic territory. The Home Department demurred: Ford was told that his attitude was reminiscent of colonialism in Tasmania and unacceptable.[41] With the Australian experience in hindsight and a population of native convicts at stake, the Government of India was unwilling to permit overzealous experiments in support of settlers.

Over time, the Port Blair regime found its own reasons to concur. In 1875, fourteen runaway Bhil convicts clashed with Andamanese who had approached them in the jungle, presumably to capture them in exchange for a reward from the regime. The Bhils won, killing two of the aborigines. In response, Port Blair launched a major armed sweep, with police acting in concert with Maia Biala, the 'chief' of Rutland Island. After several days the Bhils were cornered in a ravine, eight were killed and the rest captured.[42] Maia Biala was able to claim a reward: the release of several of his followers in British custody.[43] The episode indicates quite dramatically that by the 1870s, the Andamanese had been drawn into a three-way structure of military operations in the jungle. Whereas the killing of convicts by aborigines had once mandated reprisals, a large counterinsurgency operation was sparked by the killing of Andamanese by convicts. This shift was driven in part by the new role that some Andamanese (like Maia Biala) had acquired as semi-autonomous allies of Port Blair. The besieged colony of convict settlers had been not so much replaced as supplemented by the more complex idea of a colony in which aborigines had a political niche.

By the 1880s, certainly, opinion on the relationship between warfare and the colony was fractured within the Port Blair administration, and the regime's old identification with 'settlers' had become less tenable. The epidemics – erupting soon after the incident involving the Bhil runaways – reinforced the idea that the Andamanese were dying out, and reduced the scope for

imagining them as a military threat. Portman saw the policies of the Walker and Corbyn eras as entirely wrong and the colony they represented as grotesquely distorted. Contempt for Walker's militarized savage-management seeps through Portman's attempt to strike a diplomatic tone:

> Had [Walker] been able to devote more time to the aborigines, he might have possibly commenced a friendly intercourse with them, but harassed as he was with work, and having little assistance, this could not be expected. The hostility of, and fights with, the Andamanese were only what might have been anticipated, and these, at such an energetic opening of the Settlement, no one could have averted. The Andamanese were naturally alarmed and enraged at the manner in which their country was being cleared and appropriated on all sides, and the conflicts with the convicts, and with the Naval Guard, in which the latter were the aggressors, only increased that alarm.[44]

Even Blair had done better with the Andamanese, Portman could not resist adding.

Portman rejected both the aggressive, fortress-like settler colony and the semi-integrated colonial society shared by Andamanese and Indians. He scorned, therefore, Corbyn's tendency to view Indians as legitimate settlers in the Andamans, and saw them primarily as a contaminant. Whereas Corbyn believed that counterinsurgency would teach the Andamanese that 'the lives of Natives belonging to this Settlement were to be as much respected as the lives of Europeans; and that we were determined to protect them,'[45] Portman retorted that 'it was a mistake to avenge the ill-treatment of [Indian convicts] with the same severity as if they had been free Europeans of the Settlement.'[46] Corbyn and Homfray, in the 1860s, were unable to give up the idea that savages were at least potentially menacing, but Portman imagined a largely pacified colony, in which the violence of the colonizer – delivered in the form of a whipping by the OC-Andamanese – was ideologically akin to a caning by the headmaster.

Portman's role in counterinsurgency against the Onge and Jarawa in the 1880s and 1890s must be seen in this light. The anti-Jarawa operations, in which teams of 'tame' Andamanese were instructed by Portman to track down, capture or kill the Jarawa, were different from the counterinsurgency of the 1850s and 1860s: there was little perception of a military threat from the Jarawa or even from the Onge, who were isolated on Little Andaman and far removed from convicts. These campaigns contain the shadow of a different mode of the settler colony: not the imperiled homestead, but the colony where settlers hunt aborigines for sport.[47] What Portman had revised, essentially, was the political identity of the 'settler' in the colony. His anti-Jarawa campaigns were justified

by the stated need to 'avenge' the killing of 'tame' Andamanese (killed precisely because they had joined Portman's militia), and by a desire – articulated without the slightest embarrassment – to drive the Jarawa off land that they had supposedly taken from its 'rightful' owners at some murky point in the ethnologically-determined past.[48] This warfare was not simply a form of sport or anthropology; it was also a mechanism of reassuring aborigines who had cast their political lot with the white man in the jungle, of rewarding friendly tribes, and of managing inter-tribal competition. The 'settler-colony' that Portman imagined – and fought within, not without – was a colony of savages. They had not settled the frontier, but the frontier had, in a sense, settled them.

The landscape of counterinsurgency

Vishvajit Pandya has suggested that the Andamanese imaginary of space – and within it, of place and occupant – is shaped by constant movement. Actors do not move around a received map, but ritualized movement creates its own stage.[49] Such space was deeply disturbing to political actors who equated order with stillness and responded violently to disorientation. Their war shaped not only the colony in the Andamans but the land itself. The administrators of the settlement were determined from the outset to attack a landscape they perceived as 'the jungle' – a moral-geographical term reshaped by colonialism to signify an inherently hostile, unhealthy, opaque and savage space – by cutting down the forest cover and exposing what lay beneath.[50] This infuriated the Andamanese, who responded by attacking the labor gangs; that, of course, provoked Port Blair not only into attacking the Andamanese, but into redoubling its attacks on the forest in which aborigines lived, hid and fought.

This ecological warfare becomes evident early in the second settlement, when Walker's convicts were tasked with cutting down trees and occupying the cleared land quickly while the Naval Guard went after the Andamanese. New towns and villages eliminated swathes of the forest where the Andamanese lived and hunted. The layout of the colony, with the British concentrated on tiny Ross Island and much of the convict population located across a narrow strait, generated a strategic deforestation, giving the garrison a view of the labor gangs and a field of fire in case of trouble. New-cut tracks penetrated and divided the jungle. When Haughton, who felt that land was being cleared faster than it could be occupied, slowed the pace of jungle-cutting, the frequency and intensity of armed clashes also declined.[51] Nevertheless, the basic patterns of eco-warfare in the Andamans remained in place through the Portman years, when operations against the Jarawa again saw energetic attempts to cut tracks into hostile territory and frequent

aboriginal attacks on road gangs and convicts attached to the Forest Department, followed by reprisals.[52]

The reasons why the Andamanese resisted the woodcutters are not straightforward. Portman believed they resisted because they resented the 'appropriation' of 'their' land and the destruction of 'their' hunting grounds.[53] This hypothesis, which sounds reasonable, is nevertheless misleading, not only because it ascribes to the Andamanese 'universal' notions of land-ownership and group identity, but because there is little evidence that Andamanese hunting (which consisted exclusively of pighunting) was seriously affected by the encroachment of the settlement in this period. Portman's 'vanishing hunting grounds' rhetoric is the projection on the Andamans of a European and North American eco-history, and David Hardiman has rightly warned against the inclination of present-day scholars to accept such superimpositions.[54] It is more plausible to speculate that the Andamanese fought the forest-clearing gangs because they could see that the axemen were accompanied by gunmen, and recognized that the assault on the vegetation was the context for the shootings, beatings, kidnappings and sexual assaults directed against them.

Over a longer term, they would also have understood the terms and consequences of their exclusion from the space that became the colony. The settlement wanted timber and bamboo for its building projects; the aborigines wanted the iron tools and vegetable produce of the convicts. Their 'plantain raids' on the colony were, in a sense, the other side of the colony's 'bamboo raids' on the jungle. This ecological exchange could be quite civilized: occasionally but not consistently, the Andamanese and the settlement authorities were willing to barter bamboo for plantains.[55] In the early 1880s, the settlement authorities 'handed over . . . permanently' to the aborigines a set of gardens attached to the Homes, 'so that they will not be deprived of them as the Settlement increases.'[56] The move, which had the added benefit of reducing operational expenses at the Homes, shows a combination of confidence (there was no question about the inexorable expansion of the colony), pragmatism (savages were placated to minimize clashes), ideology (savages growing their own bananas were a small triumph of civilization) and an early reservationism (particular fragments of the jungle were designated for aboriginal use). Rather than seeing ecological war in the islands romantically as a clash between savages and barbarians, as Portman often did, it is thus more useful to view it as a protracted, unequal and often violent negotiation over the space and substance of the jungle.

Although there was little large-scale commercial development in the Andamans in the nineteenth century, the rhetoric of nature-exploitation surfaced periodically within the narrative of counterinsurgency in the islands. It informed, for instance, a brief, deadly search for gold in the inter-settlement

period,[57] and Hopkinson's chagrin at the waste of natural resources.[58] Corbyn, trying to convince the Home Department that he had not been clumsy and cruel in his treatment of the aborigines, articulated a direct connection between effective savage-management, 'discovery' and 'development':

> I am certain that those [Andamanese] who have been a short time under my care . . . would follow me anywhere, and commit their lives to my protection with implicit confidence; and . . . if they at all resemble those whom we have conciliated and attached to us, might be rendered equally tractable and submissive, and reclaimed out of their present state of barbarism into a condition in which they would be of essential service to the interests of the Settlement by facilitating discoveries and removing the obstacles which are . . . opposed to the development of the great natural wealth and advantages of these islands.[59]

Corbyn's eagerness to exploit the islands commercially is a conventional gesture: the ritual invocation of transformation in colonialism, envisioning the simultaneous rehabilitation and utilization of the savage and his habitat.[60] Actual movement in that direction remained restricted by a multitude of converged factors, including the ideological pressure of the penal colony upon the settler colony, the 'invalid' status of the aboriginal population, and the modest military and political capabilities of Port Blair.

Nevertheless, one could dream, and not just about commerce. Portman was the author of a plan in the 1890s to turn North Sentinel Island (and possibly Rutland Island) into a coconut plantation and a science station. These plans played a large part in his harassment of the Jarawa and the Sentinelese, who he conflated into a single tribe.[61] What Portman wanted was nothing short of ethnic cleansing, involving the imagining, mapping and clearing of a space he called 'Jarawa country.' This was a country he imagined panoptically, because he could not see it when he was actually in the jungle. Standing on a high cliff above the jungle and the sea, Portman entertained a variation on the reverie of the colonial explorer faced with virgin land.[62] He fantasized about how the quintessentially virginal Jarawa might see the passing ships of the historical world ('they must be mightily puzzled and astonished,' he mused, nearly forty years into the second settlement[63]), but also how they might be corralled by history. He imagined a series of sweeps, conducted not by Gorkha troops as the Forest Department suggested,[64] but by 'his' Great Andamanese, who were eventually given firearms and drawn into a war consisting of fragmentary episodes of violence held together by counterinsurgent rhetoric.[65] Portman would spare only those Jarawa who remained as captive specimens in an idyllic concentration camp that was the conceptual extremity of the clearing:

> Once caught, they might be kept with the Officer in Charge of Andamanese; they might also be taught to smoke, thus establishing a craving which intercourse with us can alone satisfy. Very little is known of the customs of the Jarawas, and an investigation of these would, from a scientific point of view, be most valuable. Their isolation in small bodies in the interior, or on such a small island as the North Sentinel, would lend additional interest to the research.[66]

Portman, who otherwise opposed the 'appropriation' of the jungle, was able to justify this fantasy (it remained that) by invoking science. By noting that North Sentinel Island was 'admirably suited by nature' for such a project,[67] Portman both displaced culpability and asserted a scientific axiom, for what is intended by nature is also the province of men who study the nature of things. The jungle, in this vision, belonged neither to the settler nor to the savage, but to the scientist at war.[68]

Counterinsurgency, as such, was not just a technique of shaping the landscape but a mode of imagining it. Portman was a latecomer to this imagination. From the late eighteenth century onwards, fighting had provided colonizers in the Andamans with mechanisms for locating themselves on shifting ground, and rediscovering what had already been discovered. It was a way of knowing and fixing, and a sign of the fragility of knowledge and fixity. In his brilliant 'spatial history' of Australia, Paul Carter has drawn attention to the land-forming effect of exploration and its language, through which a formless and mythical proto-landscape becomes concretized and enclosed as historical space.[69] Carter notes, for instance, that the 'track' in the wilderness functions as a metaphor of linearity, beginnings and ends.[70] A similar process might be glimpsed in the Andamans, where new-cut tracks in the jungle made the land fit for history and archeology.[71] The track imposed upon the traveler a seemingly natural sequence of perspectives, sights and experiences while functioning as a prophylactic against others, effecting a preliminary taming of the junglespace and its inhabitants. The roads to history and geography were inseparable from the 'tracking down' of savage/insurgents.

Looking at the writings of Britons in the first settlement, it quickly becomes evident that episodes of violence were vital landmarks in a terrain that was otherwise bewilderingly unmarked and unnamed. 'Near this watering spot a native was killed,' Colebrooke wrote in the winter of 1789–1790; 'on that beach they shot arrows at us, and behind those trees they hid themselves.'[72] James Alexander, whose ship stopped for water in the Andamans en route to Burma in 1826, encountered a better-named and cartographically ordered archipelago, but the interior was a chaos of skirmishing and fear:

> We penetrated into the entangled jungle in the rear of [the hut], consisting of dammer trees, red-wood, the Alexandrian laurel, aloes, ground rattans, many *convolvuli*, and a very lofty and straight tree . . . the wood of which . . . would answer admirably for masts. We came to a pool of water [and] were looking for another, when we observed the man we left in charge of the boats . . . making signs to us that there was danger in the jungle. We discovered a party of seventy of the natives waiting in ambush. [We moved] towards them in order to induce them to shew us another [pool]. To [demonstrate] what little intention had we of molesting . . . them . . . we had brought with us several looking-glasses, cloth, and baubles. However . . . we were assailed with a shower of arrows. I received a scratch in the leg which lamed me for days after. We immediately extended the files to skirmishing and returned with a round of musketry, which killed and wounded several of them. Fixing bayonets, we then charged them; but [they], well knowing the intricacies of the jungle, and being extremely nimble, succeeded in not only effecting their escape, but also in dragging off the disabled of their party. [W]e continued our march along the beach, [and] discovered another pool of very good and sweet water. We . . . hoisted a Jack at the pool. [We] proceeded . . . along a path into the jungle, hoping that it would lead to a village where we might get [provisions]. We advanced about a couple of miles without seeing . . . huts, or natives. The wood which we penetrated, and in which the bugle alone kept us together, was one of the most gloomy and dismal that can be imagined. Numerous snakes were observed stealing along amongst the bushes. From several we had narrow escapes.[73]

For Alexander, who is merely passing through, fighting marks the site of a very temporary conquest. Rituals like bayonet charges, flag hoisting, botany (including a brief fantasy of resource exploitation), bugle blowing and the display of colonial fetishes like mirrors and cloth[74] are more about the excitement of penetration than sustained dominance. The rituals of conquest sustain Alexander's morale in the overwhelmingly 'gloomy and dismal' jungle. If he and his colleagues were not fighting in this landscape, they would be dispersed and swallowed by it.

It is interesting to compare Alexander's account with a later narrative: Corbyn's account of an expedition in the summer of 1863. Corbyn – with a large party of convicts, soldiers and semi-captive Andamanese guides – went into the jungle to find a 'secret camp' of hostile aborigines that he was sure existed:

> We now proceeded on our journey into the interior, our object being to discover their chief inland camp. I impressed strongly on all the

> party . . . the necessity of keeping close together, with a watchful eye on all sides of the jungle. I also directed our party to take each an Andamanese by the hand, and to take the utmost care that none of them escaped even if we were attacked, as they would be useful as hostages and ensure our safety. The aborigines wished us to take a southerly direction . . . but suspecting that they might be wishing to mislead, I preferred to follow . . . the stream which I intended . . . to trace to its source. [One] man . . . suddenly snatched his hand out of mine . . . and plunged into the woods, shouting loudly as he went. The man who had escaped had a most revolting cast of countenance, every type of villainy stamped on his face, and it was quite possible that he might be up to mischief. I then took Jacko, who was just behind me, by the hand and explained to him that if any of us were shot at he would suffer instant death. We . . . reached the top of the hill from which we caught a glimpse of the ocean. We marched that day at least five miles, and formed a road of that length, which . . . will greatly astonish the savages. Each side of it was left densely covered with the boughs of trees and brushwood which had been cut down in our march. It is something to say that we have been five miles into the interior of these jungles into which no European perhaps penetrated as many yards before. We left our mark on a tree on the top of the hill.[75]

Corbyn did not find the savage headquarters he was looking for, but as if in compensation, he tore open five miles of the jungle and imposed himself visibly upon the land. As Carter points out, obsessions of the geographical imagination do not have to be real to be significant; their function is to establish ‘a mode of knowing’ that structures the expedition.[76] The strategic ‘success’ of the operation was inseparable from an ecological impact upon the jungle, and the impression that impact supposedly made upon the Andamanese. The ‘permanent’ product of the expedition – the road to Mount Harriet – became an accidental by-product of the passage through the landscape of a military column that scattered timber and savages before it, marking trees as evidence of its power. Just below this triumphal drama is something close to terror: fear of being misled, of becoming lost, of hostages escaping, of aboriginal attack. As with Alexander, counterinsurgency was both a response to the colonizer’s inadequacy before the land, and a further experience of insecurity.

On a subsequent expedition, Corbyn came across an aboriginal village which he thought might be the secret camp:

> [First] we cleared a wide space in front of the beach by cutting down a tree which . . . formed a covert . . . shelter under which the aborigines could aim at us with their bows and arrows without our seeing them.

> This done, we pursued the . . . road formerly cleared by the Sappers; but afterwards finding marks of a track branching into another direction, we followed it. We suddenly came upon a party of aborigines grouped together in a cleared enclosure, which was so thickly surrounded with jungle that it was not till we were within a few yards of it that we saw the smoke of their fire. They remained quite silent till we came close to them, as if playfully or . . . wishing to conceal themselves; they then jumped up and came towards us, seemingly much amused that we had found out their hiding place. Jingo and Jacko . . . were of the number, but so grotesquely painted that we could not recognize their features. The discovery of this encampment in the densest part of the jungle [shows] the fallacy of the opinion . . . that the interior of these islands is not inhabited. More recently some of them, apparently of another tribe, have been met with in the very heart of the interior; and . . . further researches may yet discover to us numerous tribes occupying inland tracts. Our explorations came to an end about a mile further, some of our party being too fatigued to continue.[77]

Corbyn's reaction indicates that discovery is accompanied by disorientation: known individuals are suddenly unrecognizable, the jungle teases the counterinsurgent with a secret 'encampment' but the penetration of 'hearts' and 'interiors' only reveals further interiors, rumors and suspicions. The landscape of counterinsurgency is thus conquered only to produce additional jungle tracks and rabbit holes down which the colonizer must proceed. This is not entirely unpleasant: Corbyn's descriptions of the jungle are charged with a pleasure that, like the pleasure of Lawrence's desert or Kipling's frontier, is basic to the savage encounter.[78] The beauty of Corbyn's landscape is, however, different from that of Lawrence or Kipling: it is primeval, wetly tropical, overgrown and over-fertile, an environment where gendered conventions of masculine-colonial adventure break down. The reassuring military rhetoric of 'camps' and 'sappers' fades into the grotesque and the concealed, and then, typically, fatigue sets in:

> [A] Burman [scout] climbed to the top of one of the highest trees . . . for the country . . . was flat, and no hills or elevations of land were visible. He looked in the direction in which we supposed we heard the sound of waves . . ., and said that he saw a vast blank space which he believed was the sea, but could not positively say whether it was the sea, or a cloud, or only empty space. We returned to the Settlement.[79]

Although Corbyn was writing nearly forty years after Alexander, the two men experienced jungle warfare, and the jungle itself, in ways that are more

similar than different. Corbyn went deeper, had more men with him and killed fewer people, but both he and Alexander entered the jungle to discover (in) an alien space, and quickly became unsure, rather than confident, of their authority and bearings. This similarity should not be read as continuity, because Alexander and Corbyn were separated by the period in the late 1850s and early 1860s when discovery was less important than obliterating a section of the jungle. That period, however, had created a civilized center – the settlement – from which Corbyn ventured forth with men and guns, much as Alexander had ventured from his ship. In the Andamans, the warfare of discovery usually began with excitement and petered out in frustration. Only when the colonizer approached the jungle from within the jungle, as Portman affected to do, was counterinsurgency decoupled from demoralization, because then the objective of warfare was not to discover the unknown but to assert a parallel claim over a familiar environment.

The ambiguous experience of landscape and warfare was mirrored in the process by which Britons named the geography of the Andamans. At one level, places were named in a familiar ritual of discovery colonialism: Port Cornwallis, Port Blair, Port Mouat, nervously wrested from the claims of previous, current and competing discoverers, including the islanders themselves.[80] The naming of places after British administrators could be directly self-referential: Corbyn, Homfray, Ford, Tuson and Portman all inhabited, 'explored' and described a landscape named after themselves, like children immersed in a fantasy of their own making. Corbyn's Cove, Homfray Strait, etc., were places they had created, gathering the coastline and the jungle around themselves in acts of imagination and also desperation, literally finding themselves in the wilderness. This crude and narcissistic authority masked the limits of their influence in the jungle. Britons knew that the Andamanese did not use these place-names, any more than they used 'Jumbo' and 'Friday' among themselves. The Andamanese sometimes used British-given names when interacting with Britons,[81] which was both comforting and disquieting to the name-givers: it was an acknowledgement of the colonizer's demand for familiarity, but the discovery that the 'same' savage could be 'Friday,' 'Furruty' and 'Mebul' in different, disconnected contexts revealed the unbridgeable gap between colony and jungle.

Cracks appeared within the façade of colonial place-names. In 1880, as Portman set out to tame the Onge, he made a scouting visit to Little Andaman:

> After exploring a creek on the northern coast, called 'Kuai Echekwada' . . . we went on to Jackson Creek and examined it. There was a nasty sand-bar . . . at the mouth, and about a quarter of a mile up was a small cleared patch of swamp, with three canoes lying on the mud, and a broad road leading into the jungle. Just as we were leaving it about thirty Onges

> came out from the jungle to the water's edge, shouting and firing arrows at us.[82]

The name 'Kuai Echekwada' was provided by Portman's Akabeada companions. While 'Jackson Creek' represents a straightforward discovery-colonial practice of staking claim, the filling of a blank in the jungle, 'Kuai Echekwada' is a compromise with the tamed: an admission that the jungle was not a blankness but prepacked with names, bodies and claims. It indicates the diffidence that crept into the narrative of landscape when the colonizer was on a strange coast, under attack, and forced to rely on savages for his sense of where he was.

Counterinsurgency, then, produced a particular kind of jungle, or a particular set of jungles. It was a landscape imagined by Britons through a search for authority, a landscape contested by the aborigines, and ultimately a landscape uneasily negotiated between multiple groups. Like any negotiated product, it fell short of what Britons would have liked it to be. Alexander was chased away from his watering hole, Walker did not get his open spaces, Corbyn may or may not have found his secret camp, and Portman was unable to turn 'Jarawa country' into an amusement park for scientists. The Andamanese could not kill all the woodcutters and their armed escorts, or take over all the banana fields. This double incompleteness marked the jungle on the outskirts of the settlement, changing it, but also preserving it as a zone where names, purpose, ownership and location faltered, where exhaustion and uncertainty set in, and where savagery survived as 'secrets' and 'Jarawas.'

The insurgent savage

Although the savagery of the Andamanese constituted a condition of insurgency from the moment when Britons imagined the islands as a colony, the relationship between savagery and insurgency was not uniform or unchanging. Experiences and expediencies of fighting generated their own savages, with layers of moral, racial/tribal and historical qualities. It might be argued that counterinsurgency played a role in the death of the mythical savage in the islands simply by providing Europeans with a dead (or captive) human body. When apparently successful, counterinsurgency produced images of 'tamed' savages in the clearing who seemingly gave themselves over to cameras, calipers and notebooks. But the complete 'success' of counterinsurgency operations was not only elusive, it was also undesirable, in the sense that the eradication of the savage would have eliminated a major component of the pleasure of colonialism in the Andamans. I want to focus on two related savages that were produced directly by warfare in the islands. One is the Jarawa, who emerged as a bogeyman of the jungle precisely when

the military threat of the savage was assumed by Britons to be a thing of the past. The other is the treacherous savage that characterized the early decades of the second settlement.

There can be little doubt that the idea of the Jarawa – an elusive, mysterious and unrelentingly hostile 'tribe' – was constructed by British administrators engaged in counterinsurgency in the Andamans. The word 'Jarawa' was itself assembled by Britons from various similar-sounding words (Jurra-wada, Juddah, Yerewa, Wearawaddah, Jeru, Jara-walla) that they believed 'friendly' Andamanese used to refer to unseen terrors and enemies.[83] It is not clear that these words all referred to the same tribe, or that there was a consensus between Britons and their aboriginal informants as to what constituted a 'tribe.'[84] Given the rudimentary translating capabilities of the settlement, it is doubtful that ethnological concepts could have been exchanged with anything approaching accuracy. In Homfray's time (the later 1860s), the concept of the Jarawa was used quite loosely to refer to non-Akabeada Great Andamanese regarded by the British as hostile, i.e., uncooperative and beyond the orbit of the Homes.[85] Portman retained this understanding but fleshed it out considerably. Not only did he use the name to capture military holdouts such as the Sentinelese, he also decided that the Jarawa were a subgroup of the Onge (even as he found no linguistic match between his Onge and Jarawa captives[86]), saw them as cutting across the Aryauto (coastal) and Eremtaga (inland) categories that were basic to his ethnology, and theorized that they had expanded northward from Little Andaman, pushing the Great Andamanese before them.[87] He became convinced that the friendly Andamanese encountered by the first settlement – Colebrooke and Kyd called them 'Mincopie,' a name obsolete by the second settlement – had in fact been the Jarawa.[88]

Portman was not the first to make these connections: Man had also placed the Jarawa on Little Andaman, and identified them with the Mincopie while pointing out the weak linguistic and ethnological bases of a distinct Mincopie population.[89] Portman was less troubled than Man by such weaknesses and went on to fit the Mincopie/Jarawa/Onge/Sentinelese into a theory of Andamanese savagery. They were friendly to the first settlement, he wrote, because they were then strong and confident. Since then, however, they had become overextended, splintered, broken militarily and weakened by secretly harbored diseases, and the remnants – who were mostly invisible because they were few – had become hostile and treacherous.[90] That Portman was 'confused' about the Jarawa is known to present-day anthropologists.[91] It was not, however, simply a matter of confusion. The Jarawa was a necessary trope of counterinsurgency in the Andamans, with its persistent need to imagine what could barely be seen, and its less overt need to leave something unseen when too much became visible.

Where were the Jarawa? Portman's reports from the 1890s indicate that the hunt for the Jarawa was spread out over a discontinuous patchwork of jungle and ocean that he could see only when he let his imagination soar:

> In May, some Jarawas were seen on the western coast of the Middle Andaman near Flat Island, and some others came out on the southern side of the eastern entrance to the Middle Straits. These two places are about thirty miles apart, and it would appear that the Jarawas have divided into at least three parties, the third living in the jungle south of Port Campbell. They were as timid and hostile as ever, and efforts made by the Andamanese to approach them were unsuccessful. Andamanese again searched Rutland Island for Jarawas, but found none.[92]

Nevertheless, Portman spoke frequently of 'Jarawa country' as if it was an actual place, anticipating the territoriality that Radcliffe-Brown would attach to his concept of the 'horde.'[93] Few Andamanese knew 'Jarawa country' well, he declared, adding that a recent cyclone had altered the jungle beyond his own ability to navigate in it.[94] The Jarawa in Portman's prose are thus camouflaged by landscape and language. Like the American concept of 'Indian country,' 'Jarawa country' was a counterinsurgent state of mind: a territory informed by failures of knowledge and authority but also by leaps of the imagination, and signified politically as a free-fire zone. It did not matter if Jarawas actually inhabited this definitively vague place, because the land itself, like the unknown savage, was 'Jarawa' by default.

The Jarawa were thus the solution to, and the substance of, a set of political and military mysteries. Homfray, who provided the first narratives of the Jarawa at war, was quite inconsistent in his vision of relations between them and other Andamanese: he saw the Jarawa as 'advancing' and wrote of fatal clashes between them and aborigines on Rutland Island, but he also saw the Jarawa as getting along well with the 'chief' of Rutland Island, who was already integrated into the clearing.[95] Looking at inter-tribal conflicts and their own skirmishes in this period, Britons were clearly not sure who they saw or heard about, and multiple, partially processed aboriginal narratives co-existed within the narratives of Homfray and his white colleagues. Even the 'hostile' definition of the Jarawa seemed insecure, with D.M. Stewart writing as late as 1873 that 'the Juddahs on South Andaman seem to be peaceably disposed, whereas the Little Andaman Islanders habitually kill . . . everyone that lands on their shores.'[96]

Portman confronted and extended these mysteries by going to war against the Jarawa. His claims about who the Jarawa were in the present and the past, their invisibility and elusiveness, their amazing mobility, their incoherence as a tribe, not to mention their random violence, were mostly derived in the course of the attacks he organized on 'Jarawa country.' A great deal of

shadow-chasing was involved in these operations, but the shadows typically coalesced into a tribe that only some Britons – those endowed with ethnological expertise and a charismatic touch of savagery – could see. Portman's search teams found no Jarawa on Rutland Island, but concluded that mysterious footprints and arrows found near Port Blair indicated a Jarawa incursion. Two figures glimpsed on a distant shore must have been Jarawa. Seven abandoned huts, discovered in the jungle by aborigines (who Portman otherwise insisted could not count beyond two[97]), were clearly Jarawa.[98] Portman 'knows' that an unseen group of Jarawa have abandoned a village precisely four days before he enters it: he possesses magic/expert eyes even in the jungle gloom.[99] I am not arguing that the Jarawa were 'unreal.' They certainly exist in the Andamans today, and the aborigines who were attacked, killed or kidnapped by Portman's militia on Great Andaman in the 1880s and 1890s were Jarawa not least because they suffered the consequences of his assumptions. I am suggesting that like a great many categories within colonized populations,[100] the Jarawa – as a set of boundaries, inclusions and exclusions – emerged generally from the inchoate realms of the colonizer's imagination, and specifically from the confusion of clashes in the obscuring jungle.

As the signs of obscurity, resistance and survival within a population that was otherwise imagined as tamed or dying, the Jarawa were a late manifestation of the treacherous savage in the Andamans. Treachery, which is a part of the larger idea of 'timid hostility' or the hostility of the timid, would appear to be a common response of the conquered in a colonial society.[101] It is imputed by colonizers to natives who pretend to be submissive but are actually waiting for their moment, such as sepoys in 1857 and the *baboo* later on.[102] Nevertheless, treachery has a special relevance in the Andamans, not only because the Andamanese were persistently judged by Britons to be both timid and treacherous, but because here it constituted the basis of governance and seemed to be rooted in the land itself. A terrain that neutralized the moral and technological superiority of the colonizer was inherently treacherous, and this treachery carried over to savages who benefited from it. Even for Portman, who was ambivalent about the notion of Andamanese treachery, the ability to discover the 'true' motives of aborigines was a basic feature of white authority; that the savages would reveal to him the truth of their savagery underlined his conquest of them.

The Andamanese became treacherous as soon as they came out – or did not come out – to fight against Europeans. Not long after Blair found himself unsure of the 'good nature' of the islanders, Colebrooke wrote:

> The men are cunning, crafty and revengeful; and frequently [exhibit] various signs of defiance. At other times they appear quiet and docile,

> with the most insidious intent. They will affect to enter into a friendly conference, when, after receiving with a show of humility whatever articles may be presented to them, they set up a shout, and discharge their arrows at the donors. On the appearance of a vessel or boat, they frequently lie in ambush [and] endeavour by friendly signs to allure the strangers on shore. Should the crew venture to land without arms, they instantly rush out from their lurking places, and attack them.[103]

Mouat made identical observations about aborigines who had apparently pretended to be friendly and then fired on his surveying party. His narrative is a bizarre but vital exercise in what Mary Louise Pratt has called 'anti-conquest':[104] describing a determined and violent intrusion along the beaches and creeks of Great Andaman, in the course of which he stormed into villages, removed artifacts and kidnapped children, Mouat insists that 'in every instance . . . the aggressors were the savages.'[105]

The treachery of the savage is thus built into the colonizer's perception of asymmetrical racial warfare. The reasons are not straightforward. To some extent, there is the nature of the fighting itself. Mouat had come equipped and expecting to fight, on a warship manned by trained marines.[106] Yet he saw his operations as reconnaissance rather than conquest,[107] and indeed, reconnaissance – armed probing in which it remains unclear whether the intruder is the watcher or the watched – should be seen as a specific modality of colonialism, related but not identical to Cohn's survey modality.[108] Since Mouat always left 'presents' for the aborigines,[109] and because he was acting in the interests of 'humanity,'[110] resistance was not only an act of aggression, it was also automatically the mark of a perversion that combined ingratitude, selfishness and irrationality. We can also point towards a discrepancy between what individual Britons had been led to believe by previous narratives of the Andamanese, and their own encounters. Mouat, for instance, was almost certainly misled by Quigley's 1850 account of friendly and welcoming aborigines.[111] The erotics of colonialism are also a contributing factor: it was pleasant for Mouat to believe that he would be welcomed, and shocking to realize that he had been wrong. Colebrooke and Blair were reacting to a disillusionment brought about by their own investment in alternative and generalized discourses of savagery that emphasized innocence and childishness. In circumstances of armed resistance, alternative/mythic models became masks of deceit, rudely removed by the sudden arrival of history.

The development of the Homes in the 1860s, and the related commencement of negotiated exchange and interaction between the settlement and the aborigines, inevitably generated more treachery. To glimpse this process, we might re-examine Corbyn's expedition to Mount Harriet in search of the 'secret camp,' with his fear of betrayal and his threat to kill Jacko if the group was

attacked.[112] Jacko was one of Corbyn's own men: a frequent visitor at the Home, renamed and repositioned by colonizers, and what Portman would have categorized as 'friendly Andamanese.' That he would become a hostage subjected to death threats from his own patron – it is impossible to know whether Corbyn was serious – indicates the paper-thin partnership between Britons and 'friendlies.' Given their willingness to shoot their 'own' savages, it is no wonder that Britons saw 'treachery' as an inescapable feature of the relationship. Homfray once observed that the friendly Akabeada were the most treacherous of the Andamanese, and fantasized about using their 'superior rascality' to 'tame' the overtly hostile sections of the aboriginal population.[113]

The political-racial imagination of the white men in charge of the Homes is similar to the paranoia of Anglo-Indians faced with the Mutiny: both reflect a counterinsurgency in which colonial power is dependent on the cooperation of the inferior/insurgent race. Mutiny and treachery are both forms of *ghadr*: they instantly render the sepoy or aborigine as savage, switching him from childlike to fiendish in the moral vision of the civilized. Britons were more lenient to the Andamanese than they were to sepoys, but that reflects the lower scale of violence in the Andamans, which could turn rebellion into play in the blink of an eye. The man who disobeyed Corbyn during the Mount Harriet expedition, for instance, later returned, was quickly forgiven, and Corbyn says that he 'took no other notice of his conduct.'[114]

In the era of the Homes, counterinsurgency had become a game: a simulation of rebellion and its suppression for play-soldiers like Corbyn and Portman. The Andamanese appeared to be playing also, as shown by periodic mock attacks and the cheerful return of offending individuals, but it was unclear whether they were 'playing along' or playing their own game. The transformation of war into play was thus reversible, and not always under British control. This uncertainty – which would have been palpable to Corbyn – became a part of the discourse of Andamanese treachery. When Corbyn discovered Jacko and Jingo in the 'secret camp,' the two men stood for all Andamanese: both familiar and anonymous/unknown, inhabiting the jungle but also the clearing, nakedly without body paint (which was prohibited on Ross Island) but also masked by paint (albeit still naked), moving fluidly between the two spaces. Here, as in Homfray's remark about the Akabeada, the political distinction between friendly and hostile became meaningless, like that between known and unknown. What is known, under these circumstances, is fluidity – i.e., treachery – itself.

The commencement of aggressive operations against the Onge and Jarawa in the 1880s marked another shift in the production of Andamanese treachery. These were the first large-scale counterinsurgencies in the islands since Corbyn's forays into the interior of Great Andaman in 1863–1864. Scores of Andamanese (mainly Akabeada), convicts and troops were mobilized for the

attacks on Little Andaman and 'Jarawa country.'[115] The playful interpretations of treachery of the Corbyn-Homfray years were now, to some extent, set aside, because the Onge (initially) and the Jarawa (more consistently) could not be said to be tame under any circumstances. Treachery was now, as it was in the early years of the colony, a matter of conduct in battle.

The Onge response to the British expeditions to Little Andaman between 1880 and 1885 was highly nuanced: they were not entirely averse to accepting presents, but when they felt directly threatened they would reject the presents. Sometimes women were present among the defenders; sometimes the face-off would be between groups of men. The Onge appeared to understand the imbalance of firepower, and their use of subterfuge (e.g., feigning injury, towing canoes without exposing themselves) was calculated to address that imbalance. They did not simply line up and exchange arrows for bullets; they sought to establish a controlled encounter.[116] The British would typically land an initial party of Akabeada, hoping they could talk the Onge into not resisting a British landing, and also hoping that the fate of the aboriginal scouts would reveal the level of Onge hostility.[117] Even after administrators realized that the Akabeada and Onge spoke different languages, there seems to have been an expectation that savagery itself would function as a language, enabling communication. On at least one occasion, having observed the Onge receiving the Akabeada well, Britons landed on the island, only to come under immediate attack.[118]

Such nuance was read by Britons as treachery. To Portman and Superintendent T. Cadell, who could not bring themselves to acknowledge that the Onge might distinguish politically between them and the Akabeada, the islanders' behavior was inconsistent in the extreme, reinforcing their conviction that reasoned violence – strategy or tactics – is pathological when exhibited by people considered incapable of reason. This formulation was a partial departure from Mouat, who, when faced with organized opposition, had referred to 'the instinctive cunning of all uncivilized tribes, [who] were always planning to effect by secret stratagem what they were unable to accomplish by open force.'[119] Where Mouat had allowed for an inferior reason, Portman saw the deviance of the precocious child. Exhibitions of deviance on Little Andaman called for intensified attacks by Port Blair, and Portman – in a marvelous inversion of moral ascription – would conclude: 'The Andamanese can only be ruled by fear (which need not mean tyranny), not by love, which they do not understand and ascribe either to weakness or treachery, and the sharp lesson we taught the Onges in 1885 has been shown to be the simplest and most effective method of taming them.'[120]

Portman's point about the Andamanese 'not understanding' is worth unpacking; incomprehension in counterinsurgency is a rich vein of savage treachery. When Mouat charged around the beach in 1857, he had shouted

'*Padoo! Padoo!*' at fleeing or counter-attacking aborigines, because he had been informed (by Colebrooke) that the word meant 'friend' in a generalized Andamanese language.[121] He had quickly discovered that the attempt at communication was useless,[122] but had not broken off his incursion. Mouat's linguistic failure in the middle of a skirmish effectively reduced the Andamanese to the status of speechless infants, lunatics or beasts who could merely gesticulate or howl. It was not simply a matter of the subaltern not being able to speak; rather, the savage was savage because he was not silent either: his speechlessness generated other, unreasoning, unrestrained expressions of the body, such as howls, blackness, tattoos, scarification, violence and a freakish tolerance of injury and pain that, in a European, might have constituted moral fiber.[123]

> Six years after Mouat, when the first Andamanese were detained in what became the Home, Tytler instructed Corbyn:
>
> It is most essential that we should establish . . . a friendly intercourse with the aborigines of this island. [A] system of entire pacification . . . should be our course pursued. The aborigines, from our experience of them, have proved themselves to be a truly savage, treacherous, and ungovernable race of people, devoid of civilization, in every sense of the word. We [must] confine our actions to one great and chief object, *viz.*, being able to acquire the means of mutual understanding with them, which can alone be acquired by the aid of language.[124]

The Home was not walled off from jungle warfare: many of its inmates had been captured in the course of clashes. Other aborigines came, stayed, left and returned on terms that Corbyn and Tytler could neither control nor understand. The savagery of the Andamanese – what made them 'ungovernable' – was generated, in part, by the British inability to reconcile the fluidity of everyday encounters with the linked discourses of docility and resistance. The obsession (and difficulty) with translation reflected the problem of governability: there were no words to describe the political relationship except the rhetoric of savagery. The linguistic problem is related but not identical to the dissonance between modern government and subaltern populations. Subalterns can be brought into predictable positions of governance. They are subalterns, in part, relative to ruling elites. Savages, on the other hand, seem to have no 'natural' position of political subordination that might compensate for (or provide a way around) their pre-modernity.

The link between incomprehension and insurgency could be utilized by the Andamanese themselves. During Corbyn's forays into the interior, aborigines occasionally appeared not to understand his demands. When Corbyn asked to examine their body paint, 'they either did not understand me, or were unwilling

to let me see the ingredients.'[125] Pretending not to understand is an appropriate method of resistance in an encounter fraught with linguistic investigations: it holds back not only the desired substance (here, body paint) but a major means of communicating the colonial relationship. Even if the Andamanese had actually failed to understand Corbyn, it is clear that he interpreted that failure as a possible act of disobedience. For administrators and counterinsurgents forced to rely on aboriginal translators, the fear of 'linguistic treachery' or hidden agendas would have been inescapable, especially when the translators themselves had only barely learned to communicate with colonists. When an Andamanese woman named Topsy (the wife of Jumbo, an accused in Pratt's killing) assured Corbyn – through other aborigines – that she would point out Pratt's real killer if he let her leave the Home, was she trying to escape, to save her husband, telling the truth, being misrepresented by the translators, or being misunderstood by Corbyn? Corbyn could not be sure. He responded with threats at gunpoint, and by taking Topsy along as a hostage on a series of aggressive sorties that led to her drowning.[126]

On occasion, incomprehension could actually boost the colonizer's sense of authority. During a tense expedition to Outram and Rutland Islands in 1866, Homfray – who had recently had a boat stolen and dismantled for its metal – was gifted a canoe. He immediately concluded: 'I was glad to see that they understood what wrong they had done, and were sorry for it.'[127] Homfray chose to see the semi-comprehensible signs surrounding the gift as evidence of hegemony: a successful inculcation of legality, morality, culpability and contrition. That he was probably being over-optimistic shows that even mistranslation could produce (and indicate) a thin fantasy of authority. This fantasy was vital to the practice of counterinsurgency in a situation in which Homfray, unable to return to his boat on his own, had to be carried on the back of a savage he had come to tame.[128] Was a white man clinging to a black man in chest-deep surf in command of the savage, or at his mercy? Unhindered by words that might impose the answer upon him, Homfray supplied his own preference.

Nevertheless, not even Homfray could indulge consistently in comforting fantasies of comprehension. In 1867, he participated in one of Port Blair's first attempts to establish a foothold on Little Andaman. He quickly concluded that the Onge 'spoke a different language from our friendly Andamanese, that no one could communicate with them, and that the only thing to do was to land with a very strong force of soldiers and conquer them, as an attack from them could not be avoided.'[129] Since Homfray did not actually try to converse with the Onge, his idea that their language was 'different' would have come from the Akabeada, who he understood very imperfectly. What seems to have ensued between Homfray and the Akabeada is a barely translatable conversation about non-translatability, which then generated a notion that

the Onge were a threat, and a political decision in Port Blair to initiate a military conquest of Little Andaman (that would begin in earnest in 1880). Ultimately, Homfray and his colleagues had decided, everybody understands a bullet wound.

Counterinsurgency and pleasure

At one point in his search for the ‘secret camp,’ Corbyn picked up a human skull from a village he passed through, stood on a hilltop, surveyed the revealed jungle and lapsed into reverie:

> A gun of large caliber on the hill of North Point would command the whole harbour, and the very sound of it . . . would terrify the savages for miles around, and keep them in quiet submission or drive them into distant recesses. The savages have conceived such an exaggerated estimate of our capabilities of destruction, that twenty armed Natives or Europeans would put to instant flight a thousand of them, even assuming that they were not deterred from attacking us by fear of the wide-spread havoc we could carry into their homes, the slaughter of their wives and children! They imagine that we have infinite appliances of destruction. They believe that I can kill them with a pistol-cap; and if I point one at them, they implore me to desist, or . . . jump out of the way in dread.[130]

Terrorizing savages is a civilized delinquency. When an aborigine named Joe ‘stole’ his knife, Corbyn organized an elaborate commando operation specifically to kidnap Joe, who was brought back to Ross Island and put in chains until the knife was surrendered by other aborigines.[131] Tytler and Cadell also played pistol-pointing games with the Andamanese,[132] and Corbyn’s skull-taking was echoed as late as the 1920s by an officer named Maxwell West, who returned from a sea-borne raid on Jarawa country clutching a kidnapped child and flying the Jolly Roger.[133] Japanese pilots strafed Jarawa country in the 1940s during their occupation of Port Blair, for no tactical purpose.[134]

Such delinquency – by which I mean slippage into irrational, extra-legal and extra-moral pleasures experienced at the edge of civilized, adult masculinity – was enabled by the savagery of the adversary. A great deal of the violence that marked British interaction with the Andamanese was driven by a sense of flouted authority and a sadistic pleasure in reasserting it. Corbyn’s behavior over the knife went beyond the anxious pedagogy Dening has identified in European ‘overreactions’ to theft by savages;[135] it was utterly childish, in its self-indulgent irrationality and its location at the precise historical moment

when counterinsurgency enters the British culture of juvenile adventure.[136] When children played war-games in the English countryside, adults were liberated from adulthood in the jungle. The rhetoric of hunting pervades Portman's narrative of operations against the Jarawa; there can be little doubt that he saw Jarawa country as a semi-private reserve for hunter-anthropologists, irregular island cousins of tiger-hunting sahibs on the mainland.[137]

A rudimentary form of this vision can be traced back to Mouat, who had written about 'baiting' aborigines into showing themselves, and had been approached by his colleague F. L. Playfair for permission to engage in medical head-hunting.[138] The delinquency of the desire was obvious to both men: Playfair made his request for heads indirectly, through a mumbling, barely comprehensible sailor. These are not pleasures that can be acknowledged too openly. They must be framed within strategies such as ethnology, war, subalternity and plausible deniability. The pleasure of military-technological superiority – the erotics of watching the savage cringe before the gun or flee from bombardment – had to be masked by, and merged into, a pornography of technology itself: the fetish of the gun and the steamer, the thing rather than its effect. What we see in counterinsurgency in the jungle, therefore, is an intricate play between naked, barely civilized desire and the mechanisms of its containment, or parallel fantasies of violence and restraint, each producing variations on colonial white manhood, with shades of blackness as by-products.

The pleasures of jungle warfare necessarily function within limits. Corbyn does not actually slaughter the wives and children of the Andamanese; he is a man with savage fantasies but he is not a savage. His counterinsurgency is deeply reliant upon the violence of the Indian soldiers who accompany him. He sees them as being either superficially disciplined or altogether undisciplined. He not only distances himself from their violence, but blames it for interfering with the colonizer's ability to bond with the savage:

> At the other camp [the Andamanese] held aloof from us at first, and seemed rather . . . suspicious, which I attributed to the presence of . . . armed Natives whom, they seemed to fear . . . much more than Europeans, perhaps because they have learnt that we never use weapons against them except in defence or under great provocation, or in cases of extreme necessity; which experience has taught them that the former are not always so scrupulous and forbearing.[139]

Corbyn's sense of his own civilization is thus based upon a fantasy of racialized self-control, which generates the counter-fantasy of letting loose in the jungle by hacking trails, bullying aborigines and contemplating mass

murder. Restraint and violence unfold simultaneously within the same individual, who is permitted by jungle warfare to make commando raids from civilization into savagery without being stranded on the wrong side of the line. Others – Indians, Andamanese, white subalterns – are not allowed the luxury of this duality. They do not cross the line; much of the time they are the line.

Portman's vision of race and counterinsurgency is even more reliant on a special sahib–savage relationship and the exclusion of Indians, and he is more discriminating than Corbyn about whites: he sees himself and very few others as qualified to manage the duality of restraint and violence. He is scathing even towards Corbyn: 'His statements are exaggerated and incorrect, and he appears to overlook the habitual looting by his own parties of . . . Andamanese bows and arrows.'[140] While Corbyn's counterinsurgency has an explicit political purpose related to the settler colony, Portman operates in a jungle where there is no colony in sight. What he has in mind is increasingly removed from the sedentary bases of civilized warfare: he imagines a counterinsurgent force that lives and fights on the move like savages.[141] The state and civilization recede into the background while Portman becomes the savage punisher of the savage, acting autonomously without the supervision of Port Blair, Calcutta or London, assembling, leading and directing the horde as a lone white man who has strategically left some of his whiteness behind. That autonomy – the lonely displacement from civilization even as he uses its tools and counts upon its support – is a critically important aspect of the pleasure of counterinsurgency.

It is useful, in this context, to differentiate between the two major counter-insurgencies in the Andamans in the period following Corbyn: that against the Onge, and that against the Jarawa. These produced different kinds of pleasure, and white selves with different locations in the jungle. The operations against the Onge were initiated tentatively by Homfray in 1867, and 'concluded' in 1885 with a declaration in Port Blair that the tribe had been tamed. The expeditions between 1867 and the early 1880s were mostly raids (thinly justified by rumors of shipwrecked sailors), rather than attempts at conquest or settlement.[142] Britain 'held' Little Andaman and the Onge within a concept of sovereignty that was neither accepted nor known by the Onge themselves. The violence of the raids was a compensatory response to this gap between the assertion and the practice of sovereignty. If the Onge would not accept the British in their midst, then the British would kidnap individual Onge and take them to the colony. (Portman acquired a small collection of Onge captives in short order.) They would also leave on Little Andaman 'reminders' of their own existence in the form of burned huts and dead Onge, but these gestures were intended as much for Britons themselves as for the Andamanese.

The raids on Little Andaman were modern gestures produced by (and within) a governing arrangement that was not so much pre-modern as threadbare-modern. They involved relatively large numbers of white troops, and their heroics were racially self-contained, i.e., internal to whiteness. Lt. W. L. Much, who led the contingent that accompanied Homfray in 1867, straightforwardly related an episode of marine landings (an activity that must be considered central to the practice of civilized warfare against savages) and technological superiority, an intensely narcissistic experience of danger, 'pluck,' and being outnumbered by the horde:

> Proceeding [along the beach] . . . we noticed a party of aborigines who showed themselves from time to time, as they rose apparently to have a peep behind the bushes skirting the jungle, and who discharged their arrows . . . as we approached. Noticing that many were retiring . . . probably with the intention of surrounding us, I threw back the left flank of our party . . . On . . . finding that the ammunition was running short . . ., I signaled to the second cutter to come to shore and take us off. The surf . . . had increased considerably. Mr. Dunn . . . backed the cutter in, but . . . unfortunately the boat was upset – all hands being washed out of her . . . and one officer . . . drowned. I marched the party on towards East Bay in the hope of meeting with a spot from whence to re-embark. The first cutter [was] coasting along us as we advanced, and firing on the natives who were not visible to us. [M]y whole attention [was on] the critical . . . want of ammunition, the apparent little chance of boats ever reaching us, and the knowledge that . . . our case was hopeless. About 30 rounds of ammunition . . . sent from the ship on [a] raft, reached us . . . This was a great boon, as we were then reduced to two rounds in all. About an hour later in the day Dr. Douglas . . ., and Privates Thomas Murphy, James Cooper, David Bell, and William Griffith, gallantly manning the second gig with its secunnie made their way through the surf . . . but finding their boat was half-filled with water they retired. We . . . attempted to meet them part way, but failed . . ., losing . . . the greater number of our arms, and spoiling what little ammunition we had left. A second attempt made by Dr. Douglas . . . proved successful – five of us being safely passed through the surf to the boats outside. A third and last trip got the whole of the party . . . to the boats, when we all proceeded on board the steamer, . . . much exhausted and with little clothing, having had to strip to gain the boats. I saw myself . . . about 30 aborigines killed. The jemadar, who went into the jungle a short distance, says there were fully 100 killed. I cannot speak too highly of the manner in which all the party who proceeded on shore behaved, both officers and men of both services.

> Privates Murphy, Cooper, Bell and Griffiths . . . behaved equally cool and collectedly . . . when the slightest hesitation or want of pluck . . . would have been attended with the gravest results.[143]

The high (and vague) body count allowed for self-congratulation, compensating for what was, in the short term, a defeat. The civilized lost their clothes to the savages, but were compensated with medals. (Several received the Victoria Cross.) These dynamics reappeared in the 1880s on a larger scale. Indians were present in greater numbers in the later expeditions, but as sideshows in a white carnival: one policeman, gaping at the Onge, received an arrow in his mouth, to the astonishment of his British comrades.[144]

The campaign against the Jarawa was less murderous and heroic: violence was ritualized, sublimated and metaphorized in acts of flogging, hut burning and hunting. There were few Kiplingesque episodes of plucky Tommies (and Gunga Din, arrow in mouth) taking on numberless savages. It was, rather, a war of a tiny handful of white men and their savage followers maneuvering against a dispersed, invisible and almost intangible adversary. To understand this war, it is useful to look again at the British penchant for village burning in the Andamans. Portman was not the first Briton to set fire to aboriginal huts: on March 5, 1858, sailors from the brig *Mutlah* had destroyed a village to avenge the killing of a midshipman who had raped an Andamanese woman,[145] Templer had done it repeatedly that summer,[146] and R. J. Wimberley, the Officiating Deputy Superintendent in Port Blair (and whom Portman disliked for his callousness towards Andamanese servants[147]), had burned down the communal huts of the Onge during a ferocious raid on Little Andaman in 1873.[148] This was superficially similar to Portman's subsequent actions, especially in their shared rhetoric of 'teaching the natives a lesson.' In almost every case, arson was a delinquent penal technique, applied to a population excluded from legality. Nevertheless, hut burnings were not imagined identically. Wimberley saw the Onge as 'the enemy,' whereas Portman saw his victims as disobedient subjects and children. These are significantly different conceptualizations of the savage, and reflect the different professional and civilizational niches of the soldier-administrator and the maverick anthropologist-administrator in the Andamans.

The first recorded instance of Portman indulging in arson was in November 1885, 'as punishment' for a group of aborigines who had refused to hand over the killers of a convict officer named Habib.[149] A second incident came in 1891, when Portman's party was attacked while pursuing aborigines who had stolen a canoe and tools; on this occasion he took pictures of his handiwork.[150] Not surprisingly, there were more such episodes during the war on the Jarawa.[151] Portman consumed burning villages on multiple levels: as art, as occupied territory, as punished (rather than defeated)

rebellion, and as sensual experience. His retribution was rooted in a proprietary attitude towards the Andamanese: they, like the canoe, were rightfully his, and he insisted on 'recovering' both. He had no qualms about using hunger as a weapon, he sent war parties to hunt down isolated families who could not possibly pose a military threat, and in every case the target was completely de-individualized; he was after 'the Jarawa.'[152] He was the only individual in this war – individualized, ironically, by his access to savagery.

This deeply personalized and violent representation of racial-political authority, barely dressed in the garb of governance, is a zealously guarded privilege of warfare in the jungle. It is only superficially similar to the paternalistic 'ma-baap' style of colonialism in India.[153] While both emphasize an intimacy of power between sahib and native, the so-called 'Punjab style' of governance was an emphatic assertion of white adulthood in the colony and was quickly grounded in what Radhika Singha has called a 'despotism of law.'[154] Corbyn and Portman, however, experimented with a violently playful straying beyond whiteness and legality, towards nameless racial selves barely held in check by the rhetoric of restraint. Even Homfray, a rare apologist for civilization in the second settlement, took off his clothes, put on body paint and danced with the Andamanese. Whether it was sheepishly, ironically or Dionysiacally, we do not know, and perhaps it does not matter. Portman, who tells the story, liked to dance with aborigines himself and is amused but not disapproving.[155]

Yet disapproval, or discomfort, is difficult to avoid in such circumstances and compensating gestures must be found. In an eerie parallel to the behavior of Homfray and Portman, Andamanese who looted the wrecked coal carrier *Helen Pembroke* in 1885 came into the colony dressed like Europeans (after a fashion), prompting Portman to write:

> It was ludicrous to see them swaggering about in the clothes of the shipwrecked men; one would have on a pair of sea-boots; another, an elaborately adorned cap, formerly the property of the wife of the Captain; while a third would have a shirt hanging over his back and tied round his neck by the sleeves. Some wore stockings on their arms, with slits in the soles for the hands to come through; and it must be remembered that these articles were all the attire they had.[156]

The sudden spectacle of the savage parading in the sahib's clothes without regard to style or gender was evocative of Indian rituals of rebellion in 1857–1858,[157] and an anarchic reversal of not one but two colonial spectacles: kidnapped aborigines being paraded in Port Blair or Calcutta under controlled circumstances, and the white man playing savage in the jungle. It was

different from performances of war that the Andamanese put on *for* Britons.[158] For Portman – as for other Britons who encountered islanders in hats and jackets salvaged from wrecks – it was a reminder of the sanctity of whiteness, and a reminder, also, that the distance between insurgent and counterinsurgent was not always stable or controllable. Under the circumstances, becoming savage and killing the savage were two sides of the same coin.

Conclusion

Counterinsurgency in the Andamans was not primarily or consistently about defeating, civilizing, eradicating or expelling the savage/enemy. It was a mode of ethnology, a revelation of hidden natures and technologies, and a technique for the appropriation of artifacts and bodies. It was, in the process, a technique of recuperating whiteness within savagery in the jungle: a process of demarcating the within and the without, encountering the land beyond the colony as a bewildering and exhausting labyrinth, and transforming it into a violent playground. It was a way of not only producing (and differentiating between) natives of various moral persuasions, but of differentiating the white self from natives of all types, and simultaneously, of producing a contingent fragmentation within whiteness that allowed colonizers to approach natives with an intimacy that was both frightening and thrilling. The delinquent whiteness of counterinsurgency obliterated, or at least disguised, the hostility of invasions, village-burnings, floggings and shootings. The hostility of the civilized is a political attitude, and it becomes inapplicable in situations where the target of counterinsurgency is incapable of political understanding or rational response: when they 'understand only force,' or not even that. The counterinsurgent is then himself liberated from the requirements of reason.

Lapses from reason by white counterinsurgents should not, however, be read as the abdication of whiteness and civilization. In 1884, an assault force from Port Blair serenaded the Onge with violin music as aborigines on the beach faced off against the intruders in their boats.[159] (The violinist was an Indian from Goa, but such are the ironies of the colonial savage encounter.[160]) It is an image reminiscent of the Wagner-playing helicopter assault in Coppola's *Apocalypse Now*, or the American tendency to choreograph battles and interrogations in the Third World to a heavy-metal soundtrack. The parallel with a film that has roots in Conrad is not altogether facetious. Portman, who participated in the musical episode off Little Andaman, remarked: '[I]t was an amusing sight to us; probably the savages thought we were mad.'[161]

Portman makes a vital connection between amusement, madness and the performance of European culture. The invaders were playing with the abandonment of reason and civilization by performing a parody of civilization

in the jungle, but they were only playing. Portman was located in a sideshow of colonialism, or a dislocated version of the ethnographic state that enabled him to play anthropologist-administrator and simultaneously allowed the anthropologist-administrator to play with the appearance of madness. But unlike Kurtz, Portman was not mad. Douglas Kerr's idea of the white man 'gone wrong' in the tropics does not really apply to men like Portman and Corbyn, let alone Mouat.[162] Portman was merely amusing himself, and the amusement is civilized. The savages might have thought him mad, but that did not matter to him: they were props in a play within whiteness. Pleasure, here, trumped the 'imperative of prestige' in white self-conduct in late nineteenth-century colonialism.[163] That pleasure was a gift of the savage; it could not have come from 'ordinary' natives. It was also a revenge on the savage and his habitat: when one cannot land on the island, one might as well retaliate with a masturbatory display of cultural superiority and laughter.

3 Clearings of the kidnapped

> I find it impossible to retain them here without an amount of restraint which would defeat entirely our object in keeping them. The temptation to escape is too great, and they are as slippery as eels. One . . . is old and grey headed, another . . . is deformed and stupid. These two I propose to keep for a time and release.
>
> Haughton, 1861

British rule in the Andamans was initiated and punctuated by acts of kidnapping: not only the penal transportation of convicts, but also the removal from their homes of indeterminable numbers of Andamanese. The numbers are necessarily beyond determination, because these were relocations without precise beginnings, middles and ends. It was not always clear, for instance, what constituted 'home' for an 'Andamanese' abducted from a vaguely defined space called 'the jungle', kept in an imprecisely bordered institution (also called a 'Home'), taken by British officers on trips within and beyond the archipelago, and then allowed to disappear. It is not immediately apparent that a Jarawa child sent to boarding-school in Bengal with the expectation that he will return 'home' in the future has been kidnapped. The level of coercion involved in tours of Calcutta by groups of Andamanese is not self-evident; it must be distilled from the voices and silences of civilized escorts and observers. There were, in other words, gradations and ambiguities within the experience of kidnapping. Nevertheless, we can say with some certainty that from the outset of colonialism in the islands, coercion was used systematically to move, freeze and re-move aborigines in a geography geared towards the display of savagery.

I use the term 'kidnapping' broadly to refer to a range of British-directed movements of the Andamanese between the jungle and the clearing. The latter was frequently a space of detention and display, and it is difficult to overstate the significance of display to the construction and experience of

savagery. The savage encounter generated, and depended upon, three levels of sight: seeing the savage, displaying the savage, and displaying before the savage. Each was a source of pleasure and knowledge, the substance as well as the validation of domination, and an anxious but entertaining exercise of power. In a physical and discursive environment in which the savage was elusive and often invisible, kidnapping facilitated display by producing moments of stillness, visibility and corporeality, like the photographs of Man, Portman and others. The state of kidnapping was, in that sense, a temporary colony in which savagery could be stabilized for consumption, without annihilating the savage and without exposing too nakedly the limits of colonial power. It functioned as a mechanism of punishment in the absence of law, of dominance and impression in the absence of hegemony, of hostage-taking and the recruitment of agents in a political wilderness, of private experiences of delinquency within the public production of civilization.

Because display is rarely unilinear, kidnapped aborigines were not puppets in the hands of masterful OC-Andamanese. Unequal authors of the savagery they enacted and assessors of the civilization they were shown, they resisted both actively and passively, shaping the essential ambivalence of power in the clearing. Pulled into an infrastructure of cultural translation, they improvised what Bhabha has called the 'migrant culture of the in-between [that] dramatizes the activity of culture's untranslatability [and] moves the question of culture's appropriation beyond the assimilationist's dream, or the racist's nightmare.'[1] Frequently, like other subalterns confronted with institutions of modern detention, they sought to appropriate and utilize modern instruments for their own survival.[2] These dynamics need not be interpreted in a heroic light. To see the resistant or self-authoring savage as heroic is to imagine an unadulterated aboriginal Self that successfully hides from and holds at bay the invasive eye, camera, bullet, pen and penis of the colonizer. Not only does that reify colonial categories of aboriginality, it misrepresents the untidiness of the savage encounter in the Andamans, with its blurred allegiances, agendas and identities. Andamanese resistance and appropriation of the infrastructure of kidnapping were oriented not towards the stoic defence of an established jungle, but towards a desperate but also playful insistence on contributing to the fluidity of the clearing.

British kidnappings of the Andamanese go back to the first settlement, when Kyd 'saved' a hungry child and took him to Calcutta as his servant.[3] Simultaneously, the practice took hold of detaining small, manageable numbers of aborigines in ships moored offshore,[4] and a guilty rhetoric emerged that attributed to the Andamanese an 'ever present . . . fear of being kidnapped.'[5] 'We are not here as kidnappers,' Mouat protested when Playfair asked to collect the heads of islanders whom they had killed.[6] The detention

of Andamanese aborigines posed ethical problems for Britons when, given a growing emphasis on a benevolent colonialism, kidnapping could be uncomfortably reminiscent of unenlightened native habits in general and slavery in particular.[7] In the second settlement, following the Mutiny and just as the Indian Penal Code went into effect, legality was a vital signifier of hegemony, and overtly extra-legal governance was necessarily fraught with anxiety.[8] The discomfort was not uniform: while Britons in Port Blair envisioned the savagery of the Andamanese as a dynamic that liberated rulers from rules, their counterparts on the mainland sought legal guidelines for the treatment of the colonized. In both places, administrators knew that aborigines snatched from the jungle tended to die. Given their understanding of the relationship between place, bodies and health, they struggled to avoid a moral, if not legal, culpability.[9]

As a part of this struggle, Britons in (and around) the Andamans produced an ideology of kidnapping savages. When Jumbo, Crusoe, Friday and Tuesday were sent to Burma in 1861 and Jumbo promptly died, their keeper Tickell tried to explain to fellow-administrators and amateur anthropologists that the aborigines had been sick before they reached him.[10] He insisted that the three remaining captives were 'cheerful,' immediately contradicted himself by confessing that they were unhappy, and represented that unhappiness as homesickness rather than resentment at being captured, transported and detained.[11] Tickell was not merely being clumsily defensive; he was differentiating between two states of the subject-hood of the savage – a 'natural' state in the jungle and a state of dislocated captivity – and underlining that unlike the civilized or even peasants, savages had no 'third option' of a self-directed existence outside nature. Kidnapping, in other words, may or may not be distasteful, but it was an unavoidable part of the savage encounter. This tortured ideology suggested that gradations within savagery required (and permitted) a flexibility on the part of the civilized: an abandonment of what Skaria calls the rhetoric of fixity.[12] The unfixed and delinquent politics of the clearing generated not the irrelevance of moral/legal 'standards,' but a necessary license to experiment.

The formulation did not fully resolve the ambivalence of the kidnapper, but rendered it productive. When the Homes emerged as institutional bases of kidnapping, British discomfort also gained greater focus. Corbyn and Tytler, in particular, came in for sharp criticism from the Government of India for their aggressive detention of aborigines, including the stringent and ultimately fatal restrictions Corbyn had placed on Topsy.[13] Looking back, Portman was clear that Corbyn had engaged in kidnapping; he was, however, more critical of Corbyn's ham-handedness than of his basic assumptions. 'It is a pity that more care was not taken of the woman Topsy, who seems to have been invaluable,' he remarked.[14]

For Portman, who wanted a more survivable regime of kidnapping,[15] the political utility of the exercise lay in the interlinked manufacture of savage, expert and the privileged space of their interaction. He agreed, for instance, that 'the greatest kindness' had been shown to an Onge that Wimberley had captured and brought to Port Blair in 1873,[16] while also noting that the youth had become distraught after seeing his face in a mirror, 'pined,' 'sickened' and died.[17] Like Tickell and Corbyn, Portman was politically incapable of acknowledging that captivity itself might constitute 'unkindness.' Regarding a group of Jarawa captured in 1894, he wrote: '[T]hey had been well treated since their capture; so I hope the account they [later] gave of us to their fellow-tribesmen may not have been a very bad one.'[18] But he also wrote about the same captives:

> While in my house the man, who was surly and evil-tempered, kept begging my Andamanese to kill him by throttling him or cutting his throat, and rejected all overtures of friendship. His wife appeared to be more friendly . . . but when she was willing to make friends with us her husband abused and beat her.[19]

Such behavior had to be attributed to savagery itself, with its cruelty, ingratitude and treachery, and their peculiar correspondence with insubordination, incomprehension and resistance.

The pursuit of perfection in kidnapping generated its own paradoxes. Portman became so reliant on kidnapping as a tactic of counterinsurgency that he was occasionally at a loss for how (and to whom) to release his victims, and resorted to further kidnappings to create the social receptacles into which children could be 'returned.'[20] Stewart had taken a similar route with his pining Onge, who would sit on a hilltop staring at islands on the horizon. Feeling sorry for the boy (assumed to be Jarawa), Stewart tried to kidnap Jarawa from the jungle to keep him company.[21] When the Onge died, Stewart gestured towards a history of colonial kidnapping to give himself a plausible rationale for persisting:

> Strenuous efforts will be made next season to bring about a better understanding with them, as it is impossible to tolerate their barbarous propensities any longer. They are probably no more cruel than the tribes [near Port Blair] were, before the latter were brought under the influence of our rule, and it is hard to believe that similar methods . . . will fail . . . to produce like results.[22]

Apart from being the means to particular ends such as language extraction and ethnological organization, kidnapping was thus a received mode of

encountering the savage and was inescapable for both captor and captive. A succession of administrators shoehorned 'new' savages into established patterns of exchange (of goods, languages, authority, pleasure) with kidnapped aborigines. Consequently, by the time of the operations against the Onge and the Jarawa, the expectation that savages would interpret kidnapping and captivity as kindness had been normalized into the structure of the clearing in spite of abundant evidence of resentment, and had become a marker of difference between tame/neighboring tribes and their wild/remote counterparts.

When it could not be denied that captives were unhappy, unhappiness could be explained not only in terms of the general content of savagery but also what Portman described as *more Andamanico*, i.e., ethnological peculiarity.[23] Man and H. Godwin-Austen, who opposed the militarized pursuit of the Onge (arguing that it would generate enmity rather than goodwill), merely advocated a gentler, slower pursuit.[24] Portman's retort that the Andamanese understand fear, not love, was intended to dismiss their reluctance to adopt a more aggressive posture.[25] Yet Portman, Man, Homfray, Godwin-Austen and even Corbyn all nakedly expected the Andamanese to love them,[26] and desire for consent underlay their insistence that kidnapping was both a sign and an instrument of governance. It was when the expectation was belied, as it was with the Jarawa, that kidnapping was reconfigured and re-imagined as the projection of fear. The unstable trajectory between 'fear' and 'love,' i.e., the unpredictability of the savage's response to governance, was a vital ideological component of the clearing. Love excused and disguised kidnapping; fear necessitated it.

Trophies, texts and playmates

The kidnapped savage was first and foremost a trophy of empire. In the Andamans, this trophy gradually took on the functions of a legible, useful and playful doll. The kidnapping of trophy-savages is, of course, an old ritual of discovery colonialism.[27] As Wurgaft, McClintock and others have pointed out, such kidnappings acquired new meanings in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when the collection of humans became vital to science, museology and commodity fetishism.[28] In the ragged empire of the clearing, however, the acquisitive wonder of quasi-Columbian kidnapping is accompanied by a tentativeness that falls short of confidence. Symes writes that his shipmates 'allured' (with food) and 'secured' two Andamanese women, who escaped after several days on board the ship.[29] The ambivalence of the kidnapper is evident in Symes' narrative: the women were detained but treated 'kindly;' they appeared cheerful but expected to be raped.[30] It is not immediately clear what the purpose of such kidnappings may have been.

There is in Symes' story no deployment of science other than curiosity of a very general kind. While sexual opportunity was probably a factor in the seizing of the women, Symes insists that 'chastity' was not breached.

What we see, in such incidents from the inter-settlement period and accounts of the first settlement, is a series of half-measures: the temporary capture of trophies by Britons who are simultaneously colonizers and passers-by, the entertainment of desire but not its consummation, observation without investigation. The civilized offer 'allurements'; the savage approaches, briefly holds out a promise of intimacy and then retreats, following which the civilizer withdraws from the scene. This is kidnapping as a political dance, in the course of which the savage is held by the civilized for a few moments. For the colonizers, the gain is the moment and the pleasure of the dance itself, with its fleeting intimacy. A secondary thrill comes from encountering one's own race, gender and humanity (in the form of kindness or sexual restraint), reflected against the surface of the savage.

More durable models of trophy-collection also emerged in the inter-settlement period, particularly with the proliferation of (allegedly) Andamanese servants in Europe's southeast Asian colonies. Narratives such as that of J. B. D. Rodyk, a pensioner in Penang, indicate that these servants were not simply workers but fetishes, relocated from a marginal, briefly settled and almost imaginary archipelago to regional centers of civilization.[31] The pleasure that Europeans took in these savages was closely tied to the possibilities of transformation: watching them play the piano, speak English, wear clothes, and intermarry with the civilized.[32] Such transformations – like the mutation of an Andamanese into a London tobacconist or a page in a European court – were miraculous in the sense that they overshot nature. Kidnapping thus spawned a mythology in which the chief elements were not only 'predictable' narratives of education and servitude, but also 'unpredictable' stories. The latter are striking because they place the savage in roles that are freakish by virtue of their distance from savagery, and also because they articulate a cultural and biological miscegenation that is taboo and titillating. Evidence of the humanity and familiarity of the savage, they were also contrived and carnivalesque, like a black-skinned man named Crusoe.

A third form of trophy emerged in the early 1860s, when Jumbo, Crusoe, Tuesday and Friday were taken to Burma. Their captivity retained the older pleasures of kidnapping. We see in their relationship with Tickell and his proxies the tentativeness of approach and retreat: a wary familiarity based on the assumption of temporary and imperfect possession. We see also the delight of Tickell, Fytche, Blythe and others in the apparent ability of the Andamanese to transgress the boundaries of their savagery. The captives arrived in Moulmein 'dressed . . . in light sailors' costume . . . and straw hats

bound with black ribbon bearing the ship's name to which their [custodian] had belonged.'[33] The dressing up of savages in 'white' clothes is similar to the giving of nicknames: the marks of whiteness highlight their distance from (and below) whiteness, and simultaneously emphasize their subjugation to the legitimate owner of dress and ship, who becomes also the owner of the dressed savage. It renders the aborigine as a child or pet, dressed either by himself in mimicry, or by others in mastery.[34]

Mimicry and mastery are both forms of play, but the playfulness of the savage and that of the colonizer are valued differently in nineteenth-century colonialism. The savage plays because it is all she is capable of; the pleasure of play constitutes her existence as a savage. The colonizer, on the other hand, plays not only because it generates for him the pleasure of superiority, but also because it relieves him temporarily of the 'serious business' of mastery. Tickell, who might have hesitated to invite a Burmese coolie over for dinner, had no such qualms when it came to savages:

> At my house they were allowed to sit at the breakfast table, where they behaved with decorum, but quite at their ease; lolling back in their chairs, and pointing towards anything they wanted. They learnt to use a spoon, knife, and fork readily. Crusoe on first arriving would shout out something in his loud, harsh voice. I [find] the act analogous to a custom in . . . Ireland amongst the peasantry, where a man on entering a cottage calls out 'Good luck to all here.'[35]

The playful aspect of savagery gave the Andamanese a privileged relationship to the white colonizer. This apparent proximity was actually its disguised opposite: the trophy at the breakfast table reflected ownership, a presumption of authority and docility, and a facility of experimentation that produced difference and distance. The Irish reference modulates (rather than reinforces or deletes) distance from whiteness by referencing an intimately familiar savage.

In addition, we see in the Moulmein episode a new dynamic in colonialism in the Andamans: an attempt by Britons to preserve the savage essence of the trophy. The captives are not simply renamed; their 'original' names are regenerated by colonial records: Bira Buj, Bia Kurcho, Ira Jobo, Turai De. Savagery is not so much reversed by kidnapping as it is transmuted, because the defeated captive can be restored, at least temporarily, to the condition of an entity that is pristine only as a trophy. The Romantic appreciation of authenticity is evident in an encounter as unlikely as Tytler's assessment of Snowball, captured in the jungle in 1863 and detained at the Home. Impressed by Snowball's show of 'dignity,' Tytler decided he was a 'chief' even as he accused him of Pratt's murder and clapped him in

irons.[36] Tytler's analysis and conduct reflect a model of savagery in which the dignified aborigine only imagines that he has dignity. To misappropriate David Cannadine's point about elite-English opinion and the King of Hawaii, when the king is a nigger, colonial reality is that the nigger imagines himself to be a king, and the white observer recognizes the nigger's imagination, not his royalty.[37] Nevertheless, in the context of kidnapping in the Andamans, that imagination was an essential part of the newly privileged authenticity of the savage.

The kidnapped trophy-savage was a cherished playmate for British administrators, especially in the post-Corbyn decades, when the notion of Andamanese extinction had raised the value of authentic 'survivors.' In the 1880s and 1890s, Portman took scores of Onge to Great Andaman.[38] Keeping them in a zone of authority and surveillance centered on his sprawling house, he would study them[39] and send them back to Little Andaman at his discretion. (Children were taken and 'returned' independently of their parents.[40]) On subsequent trips to Little Andaman, Portman would seek out the men, who he now identified as friends and partners even though it is clear in his own writing that they were highly inconsistent in their response to him. They did not kill him, but they were often indifferent or threatening; they did not readily board his ship or accompany him to Great Andaman again.[41] By claiming them as 'friends' nevertheless, Portman partially obscured the hierarchical nature of friendship between Robinson Crusoe and Friday; simultaneously, he pretended that ex-captives were still possessed and subordinate.

The play and its associated relationship of possession were thus fraudulent: the kidnapped (and released) savage was not so much a toy as an imagined toy, facilitating the enactment of a fantasy of dominance. The value of such spurious friendship would be heightened when credentialed outsiders like Louis Lapicque (described amusedly by Portman as 'a French anthropologist' interested in seeing 'les vrais sauvages') visited the Andamans.[42] The British administrator – as the colleague and competitor of the Frenchman, but also as the playmate-owner of the Onge – would then become tour guide and proprietor, showing off his domain in front of a larger audience of the civilized and scientific.

These performances indicate the connection between imaginative play, governance and the production of knowledge. The dynamic was not well developed at the time of the Kyd-Blair kidnappings of the eighteenth century, but is very evident with Mouat in 1857, when the kidnapped 'Jack' immediately became a medical experiment and a study in dislocation, contracting a series of diseases (including, possibly, cholera) upon arrival in Calcutta.[43] The early 1860s brought a more intensive effort in 'learning' the kidnapped, with a succession of administrators and amateur scholars – Tytler, Phayre, Fytche, Tickell, Blythe – textualizing captivity into a savagery that was

both natural and governmental. Andamanese detainees were ‘uniformly tractable and good humored’ (albeit inclined to escape), they were not pristine and innocent but scarred by history (Tytler found that their bodies bore the marks of battle with the settlement[44]), they were imitative and not incapable of education but probably ‘*too old* to be taught much,’[45] and future kidnappings – which, owing to the pervasive ambivalence of the colonizer, should be ‘accidental’[46] – must focus on children. Corbyn, working within the Home, added that children made desirable captives not only because they were less resistant than adults, but because they were untainted repositories of savagery, with an un-dissipated proclivity for ‘feats’ of leaping, swimming and shooting.[47] By revealing the greater authenticity and ‘knowledge value’ of savages that had not been kidnapped before, kidnapping justified itself as policy.

With the founding and funding[48] of the Homes, kidnapping also became vital to the British understanding of tribal identity in the Andamans. On the one hand, the kidnapped represented human material that could be manipulated and recuperated within social spaces marked by savagery rather than by tribal boundaries. Portman’s experiments with children – such as inter-tribal adoptions he arranged for Jarawa children[49] – assumed an ‘Andamanese’ aboriginality within which adoption and surrogate parenting could proceed, along with experiments in mixing and matching savages that underscored the malleable utility of the ‘tribe.’ Reflecting contemporary European understandings of Native American societies, British administrators beginning with Homfray believed that inter-tribal adoption was not uncommon among the Andamanese, and Portman saw no reason why he should not utilize an existing custom (and kidnapped aborigines) to invent new savages.[50] This was not a matter of callousness, but was reflective of a notion of aboriginality in which familiality and individuality were either non-existent or irrelevant to civilized calculations. Particular children – such as the Jarawa boy Api, who Portman tried to place with unfamiliar Jarawa and then with the Onge[51] – became interchangeable: they could be snatched from one part of the aboriginal body and returned to another.[52]

On the other hand, the kidnapped became specific to tribal units. The Akabeada were imagined, by and large, as the tribe of the first generation of captives at the Homes, Onge septs were identified from ‘representative’ samples taken to Port Blair,[53] and the Jarawa were eventually filtered from a wild assortment surrounding Portman, Godwin-Austen and Cadell, who read them for linguistic and physiological ‘signs.’[54] Portman relied upon his understanding of what his captives told him to arrive at his conclusions that the Jarawa were a single tribe and a splinter of the Onge.[55] Such conclusions were not entirely convincing: Portman and Cadell were unable to agree about where a particular group of Onge/Jarawa captives had ‘originated,’

with Portman arguing for Little Andaman and Cadell for Rutland Island.[56] Portman nevertheless claimed a measure of success by co-opting the tribal voice: the Jarawa and the Sentinelese were cousins of the Onge because Onge captives had assured him of it.[57] This was a doubly audacious maneuver, because not only did Portman insist that he had an adequate understanding of the Onge language, he assumed that he and the Onge shared the same concepts of tribe/sept and historically evolving communal boundaries. The kidnapped savage was thus an anthropological-historical source as well as a collaborator.

Kidnapping and governance

Through the nineteenth century, the Andamans were a colony in which the British ability to govern was restricted to small circles of settlement within a considerably larger space of jungle and sea. That larger space could not simply be ignored by Port Blair: not only was it claimed by the government as its legitimate territory, it was not fully separate from the centers of civilization. The British ability to control convicts who overflowed into the jungle even when not engaged in escape depended upon the ability to project authority beyond the limits of Port Blair, Ross, Viper, Chatham, Aberdeen and Haddo. This meant asserting authority over aborigines who inhabited the jungle, who interacted with convicts within and without the sight of administrators, and who stood to both help and harm the convicts. Were the regime unable to do this, the penal colony would have dissolved as a political and conceptual space. One method of the projection of power was the settlement's unending counterinsurgency. Kidnapping – bringing a captive segment of the jungle into the colony long enough to make a show of governance, a political intervention, an impression and a gesture of civilization – was the other. It was a fantastic staging of authority in the jungle, and a management of failure.

It is not coincidental that such a narrowly enclavist experiment in governance would emerge at the edge of a penal colony. The 'dominance without hegemony' of colonial India was not a uniform phenomenon.[58] It was, obviously, more pronounced in the subaltern sections of colonized society than among English-educated groups that imbibed, however contingently, European ideologies of empire and subject-hood. The penal infrastructure of British India in the post-Mutiny decades was a response to this absence of hegemony: a ramshackle machine geared to subject an overwhelmingly subaltern clientele to sharp but fleeting impressions of power through graded 'measures' of pain,[59] and, occasionally and less successfully, to maneuver them into relations of cooperation with the colonial regime.[60] The Andaman Islands were a highly developed part of this model of punitive-incorporative

governance.[61] While the priority of administrators in the islands was the ordering of convict society, that agenda generated an additional effort to punish, impress and incorporate the aboriginal population when it was encountered.

The Andamanese were rarely subjected to formal mechanisms of justice. Punishment in the clearing was often a matter of impression-by-proxy, in which 'innocent' individuals were detained for the offenses of others, in pursuit of a wider deterrence.[62] Words like 'crime' and 'murder' did creep into British descriptions of Andamanese behavior,[63] and, very infrequently, semi-farcical judicial rituals would be enacted, but the guilty were typically 'sentenced' to whipping and a few months of detention in informal sites such as the Homes and the household of the OC-Andamanese.[64] Savagery mitigated culpability, while leniency and informality in punishment underlined the externality of the savage to the colony. The kidnapping and detention of aborigines who committed offenses must therefore be distinguished from imprisonment, which was an aspect of the governance of the civilized.[65] Kidnapping was an alternative and a parallel to legal punishment.

Consider the narrative, by a naval officer named Hellard, of 'bringing in' Andamanese men suspected of attacks on settlement personnel in 1861:

> *Thursday, 10th January 1861.* – Three of the aborigines captured at Viper Island. Went up in the launch and found them in the stocks, and apparently quite indifferent, until taken to the boat, handcuffed with their hands behind their backs. On landing at Ross Island they were very sullen, but eating plantains freely or anything else that was given them. During the night one remained awake, and two out of three managed to get off their handcuffs, their wrists being remarkably small.
>
> *11th.* – During the night . . . Punch fancied the sentry was asleep, and awoke the others to be ready for a run; he then crept to the bottom of the bed, but a box on the ear soon convinced him that if Jack did sleep, it was with his weather-eye lifting.[66]

Here, the mechanisms of detention – handcuffs, sentries – were borrowed from the conventions of incarcerating criminals. When a part of the same group of captives was sent to Rangoon, they were initially 'lodged' in the city jail, 'for security's sake.'[67] To some extent, the language, strategies and infrastructure of punishment in Britain's Indian Ocean had blurred the line between savage and convict. But in Port Blair as well as Rangoon, jailors' narratives veer away towards the peculiar requirements of punishing savages, whose wrists are too small for restraints designed for civilized bodies, who destabilize the prisoner-guard relationship by standing watch themselves, who need to be boxed on the ear to be reminded of their place in the colony,

who are moved to Burma but not sentenced to transportation, and who are soon relocated from the jail to a sort of supervised house arrest.

These were not the idiosyncrasies of administrators in peripheral stations. In 1863, when Pratt was killed, the Home Department had initially wanted the presumed killers to be detained either in Calcutta's Alipore Jail or in Moulmein. That gesture towards a formal punishment was immediately interrupted: Tytler's superiors changed their minds, informing him that the government did not want to subject Jumbo and Snowball to the 'severity' of convict life. The men were not to be submerged within a population of criminals, but instead stabilized for ethnological and linguistic study.[68] The Calcutta/Moulmein plan was abandoned and the Andaman Home invented as the preferred alternative, establishing savage punishment as an autonomous ideological and institutional practice. Tytler's determination that captivity should be a brief 'series of kindnesses' aimed at gathering 'information' indicates the special nature of the punishment of savage 'murderers': its priorities were the production of knowledge and personalized – rather than bureaucratized – performances of civilization and power.[69]

The personalization of punishment reached its zenith in Portman's regime, and it is not surprising that he approved of Tytler's treatment of Jumbo and Snowball even as he complained that Tytler had seized the wrong men. Kidnapped Andamanese must be given to understand, Portman wrote, that 'whatever we might do to them, any unfriendly action on their part would lead to speedy and severe punishment.'[70] Portman's 'we' referred broadly to the colonial regime, but it was also a royal 'we,' conferring substance and authority on the officer who had simultaneously acquired the savage and his own status as the peculiarly knowledgable, frighteningly vengeful but arbitrarily benign king of the clearing. This fit Portman's post-epidemic vision of the clearing as a zone of extinction and preservation, a space beyond admissible political contestation. It was clear to him that kidnapped aborigines entered this space exclusively as the wards of the OC-Andamanese and not as subjects of the empire. When Portman flogged aboriginal 'delinquents' for 'firing arrows about the place indiscriminately as is their custom when [angered],'[71] he acted in this capacity. His use of the concept of delinquency to identify offenders and justify himself is also revealing: with its modern/scientific connotation, it located the relationship between the savage and the OC beyond the juridical and in the experimental and objectifying. This was a vision of punishment that combined pre-modern royal prerogative with the modern prerogative of the scientist.[72]

In August 1890, Portman 'arrested' an Andamanese man named Tura Ne for having killed ('in a fit of passion') an aboriginal woman who had accidentally burned his bow. Tura Ne was taken to Port Blair, tried by the Court of Sessions, found guilty of culpable homicide not amounting to

murder, and sentenced to two years of rigorous imprisonment.[73] Portman remarked: 'This is a good instance of the manners of the Andamanese, and if they would act thus when they know they are certain to be punished, it is easy to realize the state of their existence before our arrival, and how timid they were when they met, and how careful not to offend each other.'[74] On the surface, Tura Ne is subjected to a legal-penal process including 'arrest,' trial and a proper-sounding sentence. At that level, the savage encounter as it involved him is a straightforward ritual of conquest and subjugation, extending the legal authority of the regime into the jungle. Below the surface, however, things are not so straightforward: Tura Ne is 'arrested' not by a policeman but by an amateur anthropologist with a vague job description, his punishment is mild, and his culpability mitigated by an anthropological discourse of Andamanese culture and nature. While his punishment is a productive ritual of governmental authority, it highlights Portman's authority as a self-made expert on the Andamanese.

That authority, while fleeting, could be renewed. The dynamic is evident in Portman's tendency to seek out his 'friends' in the jungle. The rituals of itineration, meeting and recognizing former captives were an important part of an attempt to extend the benefits of kidnapping beyond the time and space of detention. Not only would Portman experience (and articulate) his ability to recognize individual savages; each encounter recapitulated a relationship based on kidnapping. Portman's visits to the precariously tamed interior of Little Andaman after 1885 were akin to a policeman making the rounds in a disorderly neighborhood, reminding the local delinquents and himself of their respective identities. At the same time, recognizing categorized individuals in particular places enabled Portman to establish relationships between tribal identity, communal boundaries and colonial geography: *x* is an Onge of the *y* sept, encountered at the place called *z*, ergo *z* is *y* country. The agendas of kidnapping, surveying and authority were thus closely related.[75]

The (re)discovery of captives also allowed Portman to get the Andamanese to acknowledge the necessity of their kidnapping. About the aborigines who were taken to Burma in 1860–1861, he wrote:

> I have discussed the whole affair with Andamanese who remember the circumstances, and they state that when those who had been taken to Moulmein returned from there and related all that they had seen, the others were so impressed by what they heard, that they at last realized that they could not resist us, that we did not wish to injure them, but were willing to be friendly and kind, and they therefore began to cultivate real friendly relations. They admit that all that had gone before was mere cunning and treachery adopted with a view to throw us off our guard and thus enable them to plunder with impunity.[76]

This re-creation of an Andamanese perspective confirmed Portman's own vision of a colonizing project that is self-consciously invasive yet 'friendly and kind.' Simultaneously, it had the savage confessing to his own savagery. The process of the confession – the trajectory of kidnapping, recollection and translation by which Portman could put words into the mouths of the Andamanese – represented a shift within the savage, from cunning/treacherous resistance to a 'tractable' concession of defeat, or a state of tameness. It recapitulated a model of governance through translation, confession and moral-ethnic reification that can be traced back to W. H. Sleeman's invention of thuggee, in which dictionaries and vocal 'approvers' marked a transition from an elusiveness of language to a language of elusiveness.[77]

More directly, Portman's occasional use of bureaucratic-governmental rituals in kidnapping and punishment has its roots in the mid-1860s: a period sandwiched between outright warfare and racial archaeology, when management of the Andamanese had been nakedly a political problem for Port Blair. In 1866, an aborigine named Jim, suspected by Homfray of having killed 'a man of his tribe in a fit of revenge,' was 'apprehended' in the jungle.[78] As usual, 'trial' was informal and conviction predetermined: Homfray and Ford found it sufficient 'to assemble a chief or elder, and other representatives of each of the tribes, who are friendly with us, and to produce Jim before the assembly, a prisoner, and then [for Homfray] to address them, informing them of his crime and of the penalty with which by British Law the crime of murder is visited.'[79] They considered sending Jim to Burma to 'educate him,' but no suitable guardian materialized and the murderer remained in the Andamans. Punishment was lenient: six months of detention in the police barracks on Ross without rigorous isolation. Homfray was explicit that the leniency reflected not only Jim's offense but the 'peaceful and friendly disposition towards the inhabitants of the Settlement' shown by the Andamanese generally in the recent past.[80] When the time came to release Jim, Homfray decided to stage another durbar, inviting the tamed to witness a spectacle of taming. He played master of ceremonies:

> After explaining to the men the reason of the assemblage and the wickedness of 'Jim,' with the punishment attached, and on their promising that the like would not occur again, I produced the prisoner before them in irons. At first meeting, they all fell on him with loud crying, . . . overwhelming him with embraces, . . . almost trembling . . . from excitement and joy. For three nights he gave an account of his bygone days of confinement, accompanying the recital with acting and dancing according to their custom. Having grown very fat and lazy from his idle life, it was with great difficulty that he managed this, frequently being obliged to drink water and take rest. When this was

> all over, I indulged them with some refreshment, and they then took their leave.[81]

He also told the gathering that they were responsible for Jim's future good behavior and 'answerable for his production at any time.'

Homfray himself was probably more impressed than the Andamanese were by the spectacle, but this reflection of impression was characteristic of an encounter in which rituals improvised from the repertoire of spectacular colonialism in India[82] became ironic plays on governance. Ford, who was sensitive to the ridiculousness of the jungle durbar and amused by his OC-Andamanese, noted:

> Mr. Homfray gave such formality and seriousness to the occasion as he could, and was as earnest in his address to the Chiefs as his knowledge of their language and customs enabled him to be. He discharged his somewhat difficult duty with tact and courage, and in a manner that . . . was carefully planned and well carried out.[83]

Neither Ford nor Homfray was interested in punishing Jim for a 'crime.' Collective political compliance, manifested in a verbal gesture of parole, was the actual content of this theater, its pomposity barely compensating for threadbare linguistic and policing abilities. The impact upon the Andamanese is literally incomprehensible, because the 'lesson' of Jim's brush with civilization is almost entirely lost in translation. Its place is taken by counter-theater, or a savage narrative of incarceration: with its crying, dancing and untranslatable performance, it contrasts sharply with the somberness that Homfray organized and lost control over. Even Jim's captive body becomes slippery in the process: simultaneously sleeker and weaker, it warrants the administrator's chagrin.

Precisely because of this hollowness, Jim's kidnapping, the invocation of 'British Law' and the spectacle of release were serious stuff: a pantomime of legality, authority, punishment and clemency for an audience closed to 'real' communication. Ford explained:

> They are quick-tempered; this may be attributed to the freedom that they enjoy in their jungles and their savage mode of life. They feel that there they may do as they please; they are untrammeled. At the Home they are not so apt . . . to lose their temper, for they know that some punishment might follow.[84]

The theatrics of kidnapping made the clearing a place where colonial 'trammels' – understood as a governmental gesture that involves 'some

punishment' rather than overwhelming power – might be placed upon the savagely free. It generated an audience for the regime that included not only its own officers, its Indian prisoners and the kidnapped, but a wider circle of the tame. This audience-gathering function was recognized by Ford, who noted that the Homes allowed the regime to concentrate the Andamanese cheaply, 'whereas they would otherwise have had to be brought in by force at great cost and loss of life.'[85] 'Bringing in' had a value of its own. It was contact that could be represented as controlled when the loss of control was beyond translation, that had its rituals of exchange and sovereignty, and that administrators could insist would resonate in the jungle as an echo of their authority.

While this resonance was a pretense of authority, it can hardly be denied that the kidnapped were 'impressed' by the colony. There are, however, significant differences between what was attempted and what was achieved. There was a persistent expectation on the part of Britons that the Andamanese would be awestruck by the technology of civilization; there was an equally persistent awareness that this impression could not be taken for granted even in a bullets-versus-arrows fight. Describing a marine assault in 1857, Mouat wrote: 'Their predominant feelings appeared to be wonder and curiosity [but] they were either too cunning . . . to show any signs of terror, or they really experienced no such sensation.'[86] Thus, whereas the counterinsurgent modality could produce the unreliability (treachery or cunning) of the savage, it produced no reliable evidence of alteration. For Mouat, who took the civilizing project seriously, this was necessarily disappointing.

Kidnapping was based on this disappointment. Officials who followed Mouat in the jungle were even more conscious of their limited reach and increasingly reluctant to pursue an agenda of civilizing; nevertheless, they clung to a transformational vision of their relationship with the Andamanese. Preserving the islanders as savages was itself a transformative project, because administrators from Corbyn onward sought to preserve an orderly and obedient savagery. Even a preservationist like Portman regretted the slowness of the change that could be effected through colonial initiatives, observing that 'the story of the Moulmein captives only influences . . . one Sept of the Aka-Bea-da tribe, and a considerable time would have to elapse before . . . the whole tribe were convinced of our friendly disposition.'[87] He acknowledged implicitly that even the slow transformation of the population necessarily began with the impression of individual captives. This is why children were frequently the preferred candidates for kidnapping: they were 'soft' in themselves and a political vulnerability in the parent and the tribe.[88]

There were two kinds of impression that Britons hoped to make on the Andamanese. One was impression by spectacle, neutralizing resistance

through shock and awe. The other was a more thorough impression that included language-learning and training in the work of political and civilizational intermediaries. Kidnapping facilitated both. Crusoe, Friday and Tuesday were described by their captor as 'very docile,' which is perhaps the highest compliment for kidnapped savages.[89] Docility had to be created in the savage; it was not a 'natural' characteristic. For Britons in the islands, the inconsistent ability to dominate the aboriginal group undermined their ability to impress the individual savage. But in Moulmein, with the group reduced to a manageable number and isolated in an intimidating new environment, authority was gratifyingly perceptible. Impression-by-isolation is, of course, a general aspect of incarceration and penal transportation.[90] Kidnapping aborigines to Burma is, however, peculiar to the colonization of savages: these were people scooped from a crevice in the empire, suddenly exposed to a wider geography of conquest and technological-military capability. It is the opposite of taking people from the 'world' into a black hole of the imagination; as a technique of intimidation it is just as imaginative.

Exposure to power did not necessarily mean inflicting violence. Tickell regarded the relocation/detention of aborigines as an 'experiment of civilizing [them] by weaning them from their wild habits and creating artificial wants . . . which should [necessitate] frequent visits to the Settlement, and form . . . the nucleus of increasing intercourse with a superior race.'[91] The intended impression therefore included an awareness of colonial race-hierarchy, and also the supplanting of 'nature' with 'artifice,' which Tickell linked to political entrapment and domination. For kidnapped aborigines, the stick of violence was almost invariably obscured by the displayed carrot of civilized material. They did not always respond as expected, and Tickell wrote:

> Although the most pertinacious beggars . . . their cupidity was chiefly shown for iron . . . [T]hey took with them from Moulmein . . . knives, forks, *dahs*, nails, scissors, hammers, and needles. They frequently sat for hours watching the blacksmiths at work . . . As they acquired a strong liking for clothing . . . they will not willingly return to their old habits of nudity. . . . Although I procured them a quantity of . . . tackle used for sea-angling, they took no interest in its use; which is the more singular, as in their native state they are the most expert fishermen, especially in spearing fish.[92]

The apparent inconsistency of Andamanese attitudes towards the culture of civilization was thus a matter of long-term investigation, reflecting not only the unpredictable boundaries of savagery but the unevenness of the British ability to impress.

Properly impressed captives were potential agents of the regime. This dynamic is not especially evident in the first settlement, which approached the Andamanese primarily as curiosities. It surfaces immediately with Mouat's survey in 1857. The committee which Mouat headed described its plans for the captive Jack: 'steps will be taken to train and educate [him], so as to gain a knowledge of his language, and to send him back to the Andamans to be the means of communication between the Settlement and the inhabitants.'[93] Mouat did not envision educating Jack to the point of civilization; he sought to produce a tame savage who might perform some of the political tasks of a marginal outpost without merging into the colony.

The strategy reflected not only the British desire to find a 'third option' besides civilizing and ignoring the Andamanese, but also a contemporary British-Indian fascination with deploying institutionalized 'black' children as semi-incorporated agents of civilization.[94] Churchmen played a leading role in this: the Reverend Stern, who took charge of Topsy and Sambo in Bengal in 1867, held that such children 'might afterwards return [to the Andamans] and be a means of enlightening their fellow-countrymen.'[95] Stewart, writing just before the epidemics of the 1870s, also envisioned sending kidnapped children back into the jungle like viruses: 'They could, when a little older, be sent amongst their less civilised relations, and so in their turn teach them what they had themselves learnt.'[96] After the epidemics, Portman's conversion of his home into a Home was geared explicitly towards sustaining the utility of the clearing: children were to be retained within the political orbit of the regime and the cultural orbit of the jungle, so that their knowledge of the latter could serve the former when adult savages were perceived to be disappearing.[97]

In spite of Stern's intervention, enlightenment in the Andamanese context was more often secular than religious. Most basically, the 'light' that the kidnapped were expected to absorb and carry into the jungle was an acknowledgment that their kidnappers were benign and masterful. This was a remarkably long-lived expectation, beginning with the narratives of captives who became so fond of their guards that they 'shewed great reluctance at parting'[98] and extending through Portman's experiments with the Onge and Jarawa. Its bizarreness permeates Portman's account of a Jarawa named Talai, wounded and captured in 1883:

> I kept him in my house . . . and he was most friendly, accompanying me wherever I went, and fraternizing with the Andamanese. On the 23rd of June, I went down to Rutland Island with seventy Andamanese and thirty convicts to search for Jarawas . . . and whilst the search was being conducted, Talai . . . wandered away . . . and left us. He was tracked to the northern end of Rutland Island where it was found he had made a

> small raft and crossed MacPherson's Straits into his own country. As he . . . had never been ill-treated since his capture, I [had] hopes that he would have given a good account of us to his fellow-tribesmen and . . . induced them to become . . . more friendly, but subsequent events showed, either that he did not do so, or that the other Jarawas paid no attention to what he said.[99]

The recital of Talai's captivity, escape and tracking betrays the ideological value of narratives of happy captives who might tell other savages about the kindness of their captors. Injuries, restraint and resistance are all obliterated in a maneuver that is constitutive simultaneously of savagery and of the peculiar domesticity of the clearing; Portman, Corbyn and Homfray would not have extended the 'happy' rhetoric to Indian prisoners.

It is not that Britons were entirely oblivious to the possibility that captives might be resentful. Haughton had puzzled over what escape attempts revealed about savage nature: were they a sign of perversion or a universal response to captivity?[100] As the Homes evolved and kidnapping grew more elaborate, the signs of resentment became more richly inscribed. In May 1885, Portman and Cadell took several kidnapped Onge back to Little Andaman, released them, promised them presents, and then waited a full day for them to return. When they did not, Portman implied disingenuously that he had known all along that since the released captives 'had first to find their friends who might be anywhere in the interior . . . and then to have the regulation dance and gossip over all that had taken place . . ., it was not to be expected that they would . . . come back.'[101] On the same trip, Cadell would not allow a kidnapped Onge named Tomiti to go ashore, although the man had apparently demonstrated a dog-like devotion to the OC-Andamanese and served as his 'orderly.'[102]

When the possibility that the captive might be resentful and not want to return creeps into the narrative, it remains an undertone; it cannot be acknowledged, forcing Portman to point to savagery itself as the explanation. The disappointing contradiction between the orderly captive and the indifferent or hostile ex-captive thus becomes productive, because, by failing to respond properly to the kindness of kidnappers, Talai and Tomiti confirm their savagery: the need to gossip and dance, ignorance of time and timeliness, forgetfulness (i.e., the inability to retain impression), treachery and stupidity. The last, in this context, should be understood not just as an inability to comprehend goodwill but as a thickness: an immunity to penetration by British expertise. By resisting the administrators' attempt to read them accurately, they deny the governmental meaning of savagery, and thus justify the continuation of the settlement's war.

Under the circumstances, kidnapping was an unreliable mechanism of generating political agents in the jungle. In 1874, Friday – one of the Moulmein captives – became the 'chief' of the Brigade Creek sept of the Akabeada. Yet Portman observes that Chief 'Furruty' was 'very independent and unsociable in his manner.'[103] It remains unclear whether Friday's status in the tribe was boosted by his kidnapping, or if he was kidnapped because he was already a leading savage. It is apparent, however, that he was not overawed by his experience and that British control over his behavior was limited. Friday's successor Wologa had to be abducted and 'deported' to Rutland Island by Man for 'not behaving satisfactorily,' Rutland being the domain of Maia Biala, a British ally.[104] We do not know what Tura, the new 'British-appointed chief' of the Brigade Creek Akabeada, gained in terms of his status in Andamanese society, just as we cannot be sure whether Snowball's status as a 'chief' was damaged, enhanced or unaffected by his kidnapping in 1863.

It seems likely that Port Blair's identification of troublemakers, proxies and kidnap targets existed dialogically with the internal dynamics of elite-recognition in aboriginal society, and that British-recognized chiefs were an asset to the Andamanese in limited contexts (such as dealing with the Homes, which involved negotiation not only with Britons but with convicts and other Andamanese). Pandya writes that the mechanisms of power in Andamanese society are not especially distinguishing and are 'accessible to all,' and that a raja – a word that entered the Onge lexicon in the colonial period – is 'a responsible and respected spokesman for outsiders.'[105] Kidnapping contributed to this dialogue through its dislocating function: removals and reinsertions temporarily disrupted a local polity and repositioned the 'outside,' allowing new configurations and alignments to emerge within and between tribal units. While Britons were unable to control the outcome consistently, it was nevertheless a form of managerial colonialism.

The goals of intervention and management were modest, rarely going beyond the expectation that the 'chief' participate in rituals of acknowledgment such as Homfray's durbar and Portman's ethnography, cooperate in the hunting of runaway convicts, untamed savages and reluctant patients,[106] and refrain from attacking the representatives of the colony. In most instances, docility in the jungle was a useful fiction; ex-captives who made occasional gestures of loyalty to the OC-Andamanese were mainly autonomous. Homfray, Man and Portman could, however, represent them as their subordinates, leaving administrators in Port Blair and Calcutta no option but to govern through the OC-Andamanese, reinforcing his status as the embodiment of the clearing.

Resistance and complicity in the clearing

The resistance of otherwise 'friendly' savages was in the nature of the clearing, which was contested space marked by irregularities of power. Irregularity – a combination of informality, delinquency and productive uncertainty – was a political resource, and not for a single and fixed set of political actors. On the one hand, it was helpful to men like Corbyn and Portman, allowing them to deploy unconventional techniques of governance such as kidnapping. On the other hand, it facilitated and was constituted by the responses of the Andamanese who entered and left the Homes, Orphanage and other locations of detention and exhibition, but refused to be properly impressed, enlightened or recruited as proxies of the Port Blair regime. Like the colonized in other circumstances, they sought to usurp the colony, but, unlike middle-class usurpers who sought to infiltrate and seize a stable polity,[107] savages showed no interest in maintaining the framework of the clearing. The clearing was not a transferable political asset; for its inhabitants it was a warehouse of materials, power and experience, to be appropriated piecemeal for purposes that were autonomous of the structure itself.

The basic imbalance of power that enabled kidnapping was susceptible to sudden fluctuations, failures and even reversals. In the first settlement, there was a remarkable incident in which an Andamanese man was detained on board Colebrooke's ships, first the *Ranger* and then the *Atalanta*. He 'appeared to be perfectly reconciled and pleased with his new mode of living,' Colebrooke wrote, as sailors dressed the captive in jacket and trousers. At the first opportunity, the man fled back into the jungle, but he paused on the beach to divest himself of his clothes. This, Colebrooke suggested, completed his return to 'that state of nature which he had from his infancy been accustomed to' and made him recognizable to the other Andamanese, who 'immediately seemed to congratulate him upon his safe escape, and they all together ran into the woods.'[108] Here, the limits of colonial power (literally, the water's edge) provide the savage with speech in the absence of language: the 'reconciliation' while in captivity and the dramatic stripping upon release both suggest forms of exploration, adaptation, stoicism and defiance that Colebrooke could not fully capture or control. Not surprisingly, Portman speculated retrospectively that Colebrooke's captive was that personification of slippery resistance: a Jarawa.[109] The pattern established by Colebrooke's encounter was repeated with the women detained on Symes' ship, leading a chagrined Symes to observe:

> [Our] object was to retain them by kindness, not by compulsion, an attempt that has failed on every trial. Hunger may . . . induce them to put themselves in the hands of strangers, but the moment that want is

> satisfied, nothing short of coercion can prevent them from returning to a way of life congenial to their savage nature.[110]

For captives, the captor provided certain resources, such as food in a time of scarcity. Their acceptance of the resources, however, was intertwined with resistance, escape being its climax. For Symes as for Colebrooke, this treacherous co-existence of acceptance and rejection was savagery itself: when animals flee the zoo, it underlines their bestial nature.

In the second settlement, these dynamics were more pronounced and productive, because not only was the infrastructure of detention more extensive, the detained/resisting savage was discursively and politically more substantial. There was more for the kidnapped to resist, more for the kidnapper to see, and larger places for kidnapping and savagery in the structure of colonial administration. Writing about Jumbo, Crusoe and their companions before they were taken to Burma in 1861, their escort Hellard saw their cat-and-mouse interaction with guards as the naïve play of natives who think they have outsmarted the white man.[111] He was unable to imagine that for the Andamanese, kidnapping was an experience rich with opportunities to speak. Hellard's captives were dressed up and taken to see (and be seen at) the home of the superintendent (Haughton), where they were shown a powerful vision of colonial residential life. The presence in the tableau of Haughton's son Harry domesticated that power but also reinforced the similar locations of the toddler and the savage in the civilized home. The unimpressed savages conducted an impertinent inspection of Harry (to determine his sex, Hellard thought), and were 'not the least afraid, although . . . very sullen.'[112] When their restraints were taken off, they demanded the metal handcuffs. One man (Punch) tried to kiss an Englishwoman. Another (Friday) not only tried to relieve an Indian ayah of her silver necklace, but caught Hellard by the beard, groped his chest for metal jewelry, and gestured to another British officer 'that he would cut his throat for his gold chain and ring.'[113] They also, however, demonstrated a charming fondness for dogs and cats.

How are we to translate such speech? The kidnapping of savages involves the playing of predictable roles by the captive, if not the captor. The Andamanese toyed with these roles, intervening in the script of their savagery. In the process, they produced shelters from the power of their captors, i.e., their space in the clearing. Sanborn has written that the European-narrated savage is 'a presence whose origin and point of reference is not the dim, distant home of "culture," but the eerily lit terminals of the encounter.'[114] What Hellard and Haughton saw as mindlessness, childishness or charm – the products of the encounter – both constituted and offset savagery: it made 'treachery' and throat-cutting gestures simultaneously shocking, prosaic and

paralyzing. For the savage to seize the keeper by his beard, or to kiss the memsahib, reversed the direction of seizure and physical coercion in colonialism (and was therefore disturbing to Hellard), yet it also 'denied' that reversal (and thus forestalled retaliation). By rendering retaliation invalid, resistance in the clearing generated the discourse of its own management: Hellard implies that to be manhandled by a savage, with his childish innocence, asexuality and helplessness, is categorically different from and less threatening than being manhandled by a sepoy or a zamindar.

The ubiquitous observation that kidnapped Andamanese were 'cheerful' (and therefore consenting) should be read in the light of this ambiguity within resistance. Corbyn insisted that Topsy and other early detainees at the Home were willing residents even as he described their attempts to escape, and his belief that they would follow him anywhere was not dented by Topsy's overt reluctance to do just that.[115] The contradiction is resolved, in part, through a rhetoric of obedience. For Corbyn, obedience marks the beginning of 'reclamation' (taming, not civilizing) of the savage. The fact that Topsy obeyed him when he was present constituted his mastery over her; in that moment, he had her loyalty even if it was acquired at gunpoint. The 'true feelings' of the savage could be irrelevant, just as the 'true feelings' of the child are not especially relevant to the adult guardian. There are, under the circumstances, only obedience and disobedience.

At other times the lack of 'truth' made Corbyn uneasy. That is when we get the accusations of treachery and nervous admissions of the failure to impress, which produce a compensatory discourse of the inability of savages to recognize the moral and political significance of defeat and punishment.[116] Fytche, in Burma, describes his captives as almost insanely happy:

> [They] appeared to be in particularly high spirits, patting [each other] on the back . . . and talking to each other in . . . an unintelligible language. They appeared just as good-humoured as ever, quite unabashed and unconscious of having done wrong.[117]

The discourse is essentially the same as that of aborigines who are violent without reason. In each case, savagery marks a problem and a partial solution. If the savage cannot recognize the implications of captivity, then it becomes difficult to translate the power of civilization, but the response of the savage is itself gibberish that is not only untranslatable but unworthy of translation.

Translation, in fact, became its own forum of contestation in the captivity of the aborigines that Hellard, Fytche and Tickell encountered in turn. Attempting to overpower rather than decipher the unintelligibility of the

savage, Tickell sought to teach Crusoe and Friday English. The results were not encouraging:

> Neither of them would take to learning English. They repeated like parrots the words we endeavoured to make them understand, and at last grew so averse to their schooling that at any attempt to recommence it they would feign fatigue or sickness like any truant schoolboy. [A]lthough Friday was smart and intelligent, he showed it more by his extraordinary powers of mimicry than by learning anything useful. This persistence in imitating every gesture and every sound of the voice made it particularly difficult to obtain from him the Andamanese name of even any visible object.[118]

Resistance to linguistic discipline is represented here as savage cussedness, and Tickell cannot escape the link between resistance and mimicry that is recognized (but translated differently) by both captive and captor. The Andamanese would mimic not only Britons but the Burmese in what might be described as sly learning, i.e., learning detached from its political intent:

> When teased [by Burmese onlookers], Crusoe would stride towards the throng, waving them off, and calling out in Burmese, '*alloong thwa'* (go all). They took great pleasure in the . . . Burmese dances, and learnt to imitate the performers with marvelous exactness, to the great delight of the Burmese, who crowded to see them. Sometimes they exhibited their own national dance, which appears to consist solely in lifting their clenched fists above their heads, and kicking the ground rapidly and forcibly with their heels. It has a peculiarly savage effect; but having apparently excited great mirth amongst the spectators, Crusoe and Friday took offence [and] never repeated their exhibitions. They used frequently to ride in hack carriages, and would walk up to a pony and hug it.[119]

Tickell, who tried to discuss avian taxonomy with his captives, wrote that the Andamanese were 'perfectly ignorant': when shown hand-drawn pictures and, when asked to name the birds, they would whistle random bird calls.[120] The collapse of translation – and therefore pedagogy – consumed Corbyn's classroom at the Home, generating a carnival of mockery and madness:

> By coaxing and humoring them I succeeded for some time in fixing their attention, teaching one by one, for it was impossible to keep all to the task at the same time. The boy would rush off to one end of the room and dance and shout defiance. Madam Cooper [an aborigine] would fling

> herself into an easy chair, and once . . . threw herself at full length on a bed on which she left the marks of her body bedaubed with red mud. Another would run to the door and call for [coconuts] . . . or . . . a light for a cigar, or else seize something on the table and set the rest into screams of laughter by his remarks and grimaces. This insane frolic would go on from day to day, almost baffling my efforts to civilize and instruct them. I was obliged . . . to use coercive methods, which however were not without risk, for whenever they were slapped, they would slap in return, and use jocular or abusive remarks, which provoked roars of laughter from the rest at my expense. The savage boy one day brought with him a bodkin, and when I enforced his attention to his lesson as usual by holding his head over the book and making him repeat the letters, he pointed it at my eyes with a sign that he would pierce them with it, unless I gave up that obnoxious mode of teaching him.[121]

These episodes, with the Andamanese whistling when asked to speak, speaking Burmese but not English, and turning the classroom into a circus, reflect an exercise in colonial knowledge-creation and governance foundering on the mischief of kidnapped savages. Tickell and Corbyn are not defeated, however: they respond by referencing a sub-political savagery in which autonomous adaptation (riding taxis) is undermined by silliness (attempts to hug the horses), and the effort to dance like the Burmese is necessarily followed by a dance so savage that the Burmese respond with hostile laughter. They seek, in the process, to find a place in the colony for the recalcitrant savage, who is sometimes an imitator *like* the common native, sometimes an imitator *of* the native, and sometimes entirely alien to the world of impression and legibility. This ambiguous place of see-saw contests is the clearing itself.

The contestation of the clearing evolved as the second settlement approached and passed the epidemics. The counter-slaps and counter-threats of Corbyn' classroom have an echo in the responses of Jarawa and Onge captives in the 1880s and 1890s: a Jarawa woman, picked up in the jungle in 1880 and brought to Portman's camp, 'did not appear to be particularly alarmed, . . . occasionally bursting into what were, no doubt, torrents of abuse.'[122] Portman released her the day after her capture. An old Jarawa man captured in 1885 'spat in my face and made himself generally disagreeable.'[123] He was released soon afterward. Remote camps established tenuously and fleetingly in the territory of the savage were, however, different from Corbyn's Home or Tickell's complex in Moulmein. The regime in this post-epidemic period was less interested in civilizing projects than in making brief impressions of violence and generosity. Kidnapping, in these circumstances, became increasingly a form of play.

We find again, in this play, the 'collaborative' construction of a savagery that might explain, protect and manage resistance. A Jarawa named Ike, kept in Portman's household for three months in 1888, toyed with the regime's determination to prevent escapes: on one occasion he disappeared, hid from his pursuers, and then reappeared, laughing at Portman and repeating *bhaga, bhaga* ('ran away, ran away') in Hindustani.[124] An unsuccessful escape could thus be a joke, simultaneously constituting defiance and its mitigation. Ike was released with the usual hope that 'the kindness he had received had produced an impression on him,' but when he was re-encountered during a fight in the jungle, 'he stole all he could carry from our camp, and abused us in the Hindustani he had learned.' Precisely because this behavior indicates a politically agile response to colonial governance, Portman was compelled to insist that 'Ike, though . . . comical in his ways, was not intelligent, and . . . was cunning and timid.'

As in the insistence that suicidal captives were cheerful, there is in these narratives a startling disconnect between perception and narration. The disconnect is generated, in part, by Portman's vision of a playful savagery, which erodes resistance and to which the savage himself contributes. The sahib, however, now plays along. During a surveying expedition to Little Andaman in the autumn of 1885 after the Onge had been declared tamed, Portman was interrupted by the locals:

> I had just set up my prismatic compass . . . when one of them knocked it over and grinned at me. I grinned back at him and hit him over the head with the stand of the compass, after which many of the Onges left and I was not so much annoyed.[125]

The attempt by the Onge to assert a counter-authority in the intruder's clearing resembles the incidents in Corbyn's classroom and Haughton's home. Because Portman's post-epidemic agenda of recuperation and (unequal) play is different from Corbyn's and Haughton's, however, he has a more apt response. Hitting the offender over the head while grinning back is not only rough-and-ready violence calculated to underline a dominance that is personal and informal rather than official, there is in Portman's behavior a delinquent regression into childlike slap-fests. The resistance of the kidnapped savage, in other words, was not simply a manifestation of political opposition; by the 1880s it was one side of an inadmissible mutual complicity that went to the very heart of the savage encounter.

Not only was the resistance of the kidnapped an ingredient in the kidnapper's pleasure, the Andamanese were not without complicity in their own detention. Captivity in the clearing was not a straightforward act

of deprivation. It is useful to look at Corbyn's defense of the Home in 1863–1864:

> I have seen it stated that the people are detained at the Andaman Home against their will; but a simple refutation of this mis-statement may be adduced from the fact that they are now only too anxious to come to the Settlement, and that we have much more difficulty in keeping them away from this island than in inducing them to remain here. [W]hen they are really anxious to leave they are always permitted to do so within reasonable intervals . . . Andamanese who are said to be pining in imprisonment . . . return of their own accord to their dungeons. [T]hey are gradually assimilating themselves to our ways and practices, and can . . . appreciate the superior comforts and advantages of civilization, and evidently prefer them to the exposure and severe hardships which they undergo in their own jungles.[126]

Corbyn is being disingenuous; he acknowledges in the same narrative that individual captives were hostages who ensured the 'good behavior' of other Andamanese. The latter were encouraged to visit the detainees at the Home. Good behavior included not only desisting from attacks but the visit itself, with its rituals of impression. The 'voluntary' quality of visits to the clearing must, under the circumstances, be gauged against the backdrop of the kidnapping of friends and relatives. While it is true that the Andamanese kept coming to the Home, these were in a sense prison visits that occasionally went awry.

The visits must also be viewed in the context of the British policy of 'friendly intercourse': the attempt to entice the Andamanese with the materials of civilization. To obtain these benefits, the Andamanese would put up with periods of detention and other impositions. Moreover, it might be speculated from the patterns of captivity, departure and return that the Andamanese did not regard the clearing as a political space that was entirely apart from their own, but as an extension of their world. Given their indifference to British political authority and rituals, there is no reason to expect that they consistently recognized the lines that colonizers drew between the jungle and the colony. The Home was marked by unequal political interactions, but like other, dangerous, parts of the jungle, it was nevertheless a resource that the Andamanese sought to utilize autonomously. It is worth noting that whenever British officers (from Homfray onward) tried to house Andamanese detainees in large sheds, the aborigines built their own huts inside the sheds.[127] The internal politics of the clearing and its rituals of visiting, detention and release/departure might be seen, accordingly, as the accommodation of aboriginal huts within colonial sheds,

or another intricate dance with overlapping elements of violence, docility and treachery in which the savage could occasionally 'lead' the colonizer.

The dance was not just between Britons and aborigines. For Andamanese who had spent time at the Homes, their relationship with the clearing was a political asset in the aboriginal world. They could either share or monopolize the advantage. Corbyn describes both responses: whereas Crusoe (a veteran of Moulmein) encouraged contact between Port Blair and aborigines from southern Great Andaman, others discouraged it, 'representing [the southerners] as extremely ill-disposed to us.'[128] These reflect different calculations of self-interest: on the one hand, a desire to ingratiate oneself politically with other aborigines and the settlement, and on the other, a reluctance to share a resource with competing groups. In pursuing the latter agenda, the Andamanese seem to have played on British perceptions of their savagery: Corbyn readily believed that his informants shared his particular fears of 'ill-disposed' groups.

Administrators were not oblivious to the possibility that the Andamanese exploited the infrastructure of detention for their own purposes. In the mid-1860s, there was already a subtle duality within the narrative of the Homes: an idealistic note and its pragmatic echo. When a new Home opened in Port Mouat in 1867, Ford wrote:

> The Islanders of the North . . . are still opposed to us. But . . . no doubt . . . they will [eventually] hear of the good will that is desired in this Settlement with all aboriginal tribes, and . . . they will, as others have done, come and see, and realize this for themselves.[129]

This, Ford added, would significantly expand the territory then under British authority. Homfray, without disagreeing, added his voice to that of his chief:

> [T]he books of the Home show that no less than 25,235 Andamanese received relief in food, which was principally during the monsoon months, when it is difficult for them to provide for themselves. These people . . . carry back with them to their friends and neighbours the news of our hospitality, and thus it is that the more northern Andamanese may eventually be reached.[130]

Where Ford imagined a creeping hegemony, Homfray saw a free lunch: a modest project of acquaintance, rather than a strategic project of conquest. H. Man, who replaced Ford as superintendent in 1868,[131] was explicit in his pragmatism, noting that 'the issue of our stores to them is to be considered

as a reward for good conduct,' and that the Homes 'have been of much value to the Settlement . . . but these people must now understand that a return is expected for our kindness to them, and that misconduct on their part will be followed by a withdrawal of our favours.'[132] Portman, less squeamish than others about admitting why aborigines would put up with detention, noted that 'it was necessary to bribe the parents to allow their children to come to the so-called Orphanage, and Mr. Homfray was very liberal with his presents.'[133]

In the period following the epidemics, the relationship between captivity, complicity and savagery entered another phase. The Jarawa response to the clearing in the 1880s and 1890s was both unlike and like that of aborigines in the 1860s and early 1870s. Unlike the 'friendly' Akabeada, the Jarawa did not 'visit' and did not seek to establish a relationship of negotiation and resource-accessing. They were, of course, identified tautologically through these refusals. Recalcitrant savages after the 1870s were a relatively weak 'tribe,' lacking the numbers and the organization needed for strategies of collective negotiation. Individual Jarawa captives like Ike and Api continued to respond much as the Akabeada had responded to the early Homes: with a mixture of resistance, acquiescence and opportunism that misled Portman into seeing them as his 'orderlies' or 'pets.' But when these individuals were released, they immediately stopped negotiating and disappeared. There was no longer a 'dance' at the level of the group, with its dynamics of coming, escaping and returning. Weakness – as Portman realized – had generated a binary of hostility or submission.

There are two surprises here for the British officer, each generating its own treachery. First, the Jarawa do not respond to the clearing in a historically predicted manner, making kidnapping all the more necessary; and second, kidnapped Jarawa, once released, leave all traces of docility behind. The discourse of treachery is, after all, also a discourse of the failure of knowledge: the colonizer being surprised by the falsity of his knowledge, and turning surprise into a new layer of knowledge. The greater the assumption of intimacy and knowledge, the greater the chances of encountering treachery. The Jarawa and (to a lesser degree, the Onge[134]) were, in that sense, a partially new breed of treacherous savage, produced by a change in the political and ideological circumstances under which the Andamanese encountered the colony's sites of detention and reward.

Tours and displays

Kidnapping in the Andamans was closely linked to the British habit of taking aborigines on trips outside the islands. By the mid-1860s, tours had become rituals of expertise and authority, undertaken by successive OC-Andamanese.

The Homes functioned as the logistical base for these journeys, most of which were to Calcutta, although other destinations in the regional theater of empire (Rangoon, Moulmein) could also make the itinerary. Touring reversed but also extended the dramatic arrival among savages of 'the monster ship, the fire-vessel, that . . . excited their wonder.'[135] It extended also the British practice of relocating aborigines within the archipelago by transporting them to Port Blair: guided tours of the settlement headquarters by the newly tamed Onge, for instance, were structured similarly to tours of Calcutta, with the wonders of civilization put on display in a ritualized consumption of superiority.[136]

On mainland tours, however, the savage was expected to respond to display not so much by acquiring a sense of familiarity that facilitated (and constituted) governance, but by demonstrating an inability to understand what the spectacle was about, and thus demonstrating savagery to a wider audience of the civilized and semi-civilized. One display (civilized artifact) thus produced another (savage incomprehension). Both were entertaining for the exhibitors, but the former was an instrumental entertainment meant to produce the latter, more substantial pleasure. Moreover, whereas kidnapping and display within the Andamans had a powerfully productive 'private' dimension in which the colonizer 'played' alone with his captives, tours of mainland cities were public performances in which the kidnapper performed alongside the savage in order to impress other sahibs and natives.[137] The colonial audience also differentiated the tours from older, metropolitan choreographies of savagery, such as the Omai phenomenon described by Wilson.[138] Calcutta was less accommodating of jungle-induced delinquencies in the kidnapper, and less forgiving of lapses of authority.

For new-caught Andamanese, the difference between Calcutta and Port Blair would have been ambiguous: one cannot presume an automatically meaningful separation between 'the Andamans' and a 'mainland.' For Britons, the difference was clear and constituted by the dichotomy of savagery and civilization. A journey beyond the horizon to Calcutta, much more than a boat ride to Ross Island or Little Andaman, meant crossing a line: a wondrous transition to the other side. Indeed, a major function of the tours was to educate the Andamanese in the meanings of this difference by teaching them to recognize the transition. There were other functions which had to do with not only showing off the wonders of the periphery to the rulers and the ruled in the centers of empire, but re-experiencing the wonder of the savage through the eyes of the civilized, and revisiting civilization simultaneously as owner, tour guide and tourist.

Beginning tentatively with Kyd and Blair and gathering ideological coherence and discursive substance with Mouat, experiments with taking aborigines overseas reflect the superficiality of the British desire to 'civilize'

the Andamanese. It was the undeleted savage that was circulated, in a movement that was exhibitionist rather than transformational. Exhibition touring was a precarious but irresistible exercise in the production of authority. Although Britons in the Andamans invited the gaze of the islanders, being watched by savages in the jungle was an anxious experience that demanded compensatory tactics.[139] Shifting the display to the mainland promised a measure of control over the gaze of the savage, and simultaneously over the gaze of the civilized. The tours were, in that sense, precursors of Portman's experiments with photography.

Mouat's appearance in Calcutta in 1858 with the kidnapped Jack established the template for tours from the Andamans. It was more determinedly oriented towards display and recording than anything that Blair and Kyd had attempted, and methodologically aligned with the Crystal Palace exhibition and other mid-Victorian exercises in the production of quasi-tropical arcadia, such as zoological 'gardens' stocked with dangerous-looking snakes and primly dressed chimpanzees.[140] The rituals of touring – especially the pantomime of the clearing before carefully differentiated audiences of elites and masses, shopkeepers and scientists – were improvised during this trip, as were the expectations of differentiated but complementary wonder, the presumed astonishment of the savage mirroring that of the civilized.[141] On one occasion, Mouat got a grotesque black 'mannikin' to represent Jack while a 'ventriloquist' supplied the puppet's voice ('a sort of savage howl'). Mouat persuaded himself that the result was 'so ferocious that [Indian observers] . . . trembled with fear and agitation.'[142] This is not unlike the production of dog-headed cannibals by Marco Polo, except that Mouat was a magician enthralled simultaneously by his own magic and his historicity, including his presumed ability to switch fake and real savages.

The presumptions of the tour-guide are crucially important because as much as the savage, the guide was on display. Touring with aborigines was an intensely narcissistic experience. In the autumn of 1863, Corbyn took eight Andamanese – including Jumbo and his ill-fated wife Topsy – to Calcutta. He stayed at Spence's Hotel, they as guests of the police.[143] The Andamanese were nervous about where they were going and when (and whether) they might return, but Corbyn apparently calmed them with the assurance that all would remain and return together, at which point they became excited by the 'novelty' of the journey. Curious Indians besieged the Andamanese at Dharmatala and the Ballygunge Parade Ground, speculating about their craving for human (specifically, European) flesh and their anatomical peculiarities (tails).

The Andamanese, for their part, became even more contemptuous of 'natives' than they had been hitherto: not only were there melées with

aggressive onlookers, they realized that ‘Even a child, running into a crowd of Bengalees and using menacing gestures, would immediately scatter it; and it was natural that the Andamanese, seeing such displays of timidity, should regard the whole race as immeasurably inferior to them in those qualities which they most appreciate and admire.’[144] They were taken on a train ride to Burdwan, and at the piggeries of Entally they witnessed modern butchery. Before re-embarking for the Andamans, the aborigines were shown the Town Hall, the Mint and the Museum. Corbyn wanted them to see a military parade but was unable to arrange it; he did, however, take them to the Asiatic Society and the Bethune Institute where they listened politely to lectures on the empire-wide aboriginal proclivity for drunkenness and their potential for civilization and survival.

These displays had mixed results for Corbyn, who wrote:

> It was remarked with surprise and disappointment, that they never evinced astonishment or admiration at anything which they beheld, however wonderful from its novelty we might suppose it would appear. When they passed through rooms, as in the . . . Mint, where the most elaborate appliances of machinery were displayed before them in active operation . . ., not a sign either by word or gesture escaped them that such wonderful contrivances surpassed their comprehension, or that their magnitude and power startled and bewildered them. But, in fact, their undemonstrative manner was not a sign of unconcern or want of appreciation, but rather an indication that a profound interest was awakened, and that they were too absorbed in thought to give immediate utterances to the sensations which objects so far above their comprehension excited. They would, afterward amongst themselves . . . talk for hours together of what they had witnessed; and sometimes things which appeared at the time . . . to produce but slight impression, would form the subject of most animated discussion and enquiry.[145]

There is much to unpack in Corbyn’s narrative of the tour, beginning with the unreliability of his translations of the chatter of the tourists. Even before the savages reach civilization, Corbyn begins to articulate them into a shocking contrast, and tries to get them to articulate their own surprised savagery. What cannot be articulated or translated, Corbyn simply imagines. Indian perceptions of savagery are also imagined for the colonizer’s needs: derived partially from British discourse, they provide ironic reinforcement to how Britons treat the Andamanese. Britons ‘know better’ (for instance, that the Andamanese are *not* cannibals), but nevertheless put on a spectacle of savagery – i.e., a spectacle of colonialism – for the Indians. In the process

they derive a dual pleasure: that of enacting a theater of possession and power, and that of seeing the savage through the eyes of the semi-civilized native.

Nevertheless, native spectators threaten to overpower British control over the display. Indians appear to attack the touring party in what is possibly an attack on the tour guides, and insert disturbing anti-colonial fantasies (like killing and eating the sahib) into the displayed savage. On at least one occasion, Corbyn is reduced to negotiating an uneasy getaway from the crowd. Spectacles of savagery – like any carnival in which exhibitor and spectator are differently entertained – come with the risk of undermining critical arrangements of power. Corbyn's assertion of expertise is a way of restoring hierarchy. An important purpose behind the staging of encounters between unruly Indians and kidnapped Andamanese is the reinforcement of British attitudes towards both, and a divide-and-rule agenda is reified by Corbyn's approval of Andamanese 'contempt' for Indians: he imagines that this contempt, strengthened by the trip to the mainland, will disrupt political ties between aborigines and convicts in the penal colony. The contempt is conveniently articulated through the Andamanese, not unlike Kipling getting Pathans to articulate the British disdain for educated natives.[146]

Whether the Andamanese actually absorbed the sentiment, and the precise form and context of that absorption, remain unclear; those details are lost in translation. Corbyn's objective is to confirm the inferiority of Indians in the hierarchy of colonial society relative to whites, rather than relative to aborigines. The Andamanese function as instruments in the exercise, representing 'white' values, such as manliness. Since they are savages nevertheless, their social-political location is not significantly altered, except to encourage an entirely contextual proximity – the 'our savages' or 'two strong men' bond – with whites. This proximity should not be mistaken for an egalitarian impulse. It is precisely the opposite: the proximity of the follower to the leader.

The fragility of this proximal relationship, which is essentially the British failure to impress the savage, is manifested in the apparent non-surprise of the Andamanese at the spectacle *for* the savage. Corbyn does not seem to have anticipated this risk until the show was already underway. His own surprise is therefore naïve: he is too surprised to hide it from the reader, and offers an especially pathetic explanation. The failure of the expectation of surprise may be understood as resistance: a deliberate silence and a refusal by the Andamanese to give Corbyn what he wanted. It may, however, also be understood as a mismatch of worldviews and languages: a result of the non-universality of the idea that mechanized mints are objects of wonder, and the non-universality of the idea of savagery itself. Ultimately, what disappoints

Corbyn is the Andamanese refusal/failure to confirm their savagery and his civilization.

Nevertheless, Corbyn could hardly give up on spectacles. When he took the Andamanese to the Asiatic Society and the Museum, the savage became the performing exhibit, and savage observation of other exhibits a part of the exhibition.[147] There is a looking-glass element to this display: the savage is shown a version of civilization that is constituted, in part, by his own exhibition as a savage. The objectification was completed at the scientists' meetings, with their 'live' discussions of savagery and geography. Scholarly gatherings at the Bethune Institute were more reassuring to Corbyn than an Indian crowd in Dharmatala market. At the same time, the academic front is partially a pretense: there is a freakish monkey-in-a-classroom excitement to these encounters that flows from a silent recognition that the aborigine is not in fact a monkey. In other words, the experience of domination over another human being is a large part of the pleasure experienced by the Europeans. The savage makes that possible not only discursively (as a savage he was automatically available for the exercise) but politically (Indians might not put up with such treatment).

It is illuminating to compare Corbyn's 1863 tour of Bengal with later trips to the mainland, such as those organized by Man in 1883 and Portman in 1884, 1892 and 1895. Portman took no fewer than thirty-seven Andamanese and five Nicobarese in 1884, and in 1892 and 1895 his party included Onge. Like Corbyn, Portman found that the tame were not necessarily willing travelers, and he had to resort to coercion and reassurance.[148] He wanted, in 1884, 'to show them the Exhibition held there.'[149] While in Calcutta, the Andamanese were introduced to the usual wonders – the Circus, the Museum, the Zoo (where they stayed, and identified various animals), the Viceroy, the Mint, factories, mechanized transport – and also some new ones, such as Naga and Karen aborigines attending the International Exhibition. They apparently got on well with the Naga (and were entertained by a fight between 'two tribes of Nagas, who had by mistake been brought together'), but behaved badly with Indians in the city's bazaars. On the 1892 and 1894 tours, the Andamanese were accommodated neither at the Zoo nor in police custody but at the other extreme of civilization: Spence's Hotel, where solicitous staff protected their privacy from the curious. They saw the (old) Howrah Bridge and the Botanical Gardens, where they delighted a resident botanist by recognizing a 'piece of Andaman jungle.' They displayed their archery skills to the Viceroy and were taken shopping, and when offered mechanical toys and gadgets as presents, showed a preference for knives and axes.[150]

As in the 1860s, these tours were multi-layered exhibitions: the Andamanese are wonders touring what Portman calls 'Wonderland,'[151] and both are

contained within the encompassing wonders of empire and civilization. Man, Portman, Ripon, Lansdowne and Elgin are entertained by all these wonders, although their pleasure in trains and museums had to be dislocated on to the savage for it to be experienced in a civilized way. The staff of Spence's Hotel are challenged but also entertained by the quaintness of catering to savages and their need for 'privacy,' which meant, practically, their segregation from Indians except under British supervision. As before, the interaction between savages and other natives is described as troubled and troubling.

The later tours were nevertheless more ambitious than what Mouat or Corbyn had attempted, reflecting the highly developed clearing of the 1880s and 1890s and the expanded scientific pretensions of the administrator of savagery. Portman was not content to take his wards to scientists at the Bethune Institute; he insisted that he was himself the expert, and as such the rightful ringmaster, able to generate, control and interpret the circus performance. When the Andamanese recognized and 'named' exotic fish at the Zoo, it confirmed their status as exotic and bestial, much as the British ability to identify and segregate aborigines from northeastern India, the Andamans and the Nicobars confirmed their status as civilized. The encounter with the 'Andaman jungle' at the Botanical Gardens, in which a collected/tamed version of native habitat was displayed to the native, is itself a complex colonial ritual, akin to holding a deliberately warped mirror in front of the savage, expecting him to recognize both the reflected Self and its displacement/distortion, and deriving pleasure from the power to have the displacement validated by the displaced. The Botanical Gardens at Shibpur are, in fact, a creation of Kyd himself. Kyd's aborigines had now completed a circle, 'returning' to a re-created jungle-of-Eden to meet their maker, savagery revealing itself in their awe.[152]

Such reunions were tests for the savage, as well as for the scientist, who expected his expert collection/categorization to be (literally) recognized. Since any failure to recognize would be attributed to the shortcomings of the savage, the normative imbalance of power between scientist and savage was maintained. Accommodating the Andamanese either at the Zoo or at Spence's Hotel is the ultimate metaphor of the simultaneous processes of humanizing and dehumanizing: each location is deliberately excessive, in the sense that it is experimental and playful (but not innocent), revealing the empire as a menagerie as well as a doll's house/stage. Selecting the specimens for particular performances required expertise, and Portman noted that he carefully chose the Andamanese who accompanied him to Calcutta on the basis of disciplinary priorities, his assessments of their identities and his reading of their 'intelligence.'[153] Portman took with him in 1892 first-timers as well as repeat visitors. This produced a dynamic of pleasure within the

group that knowing Britons like Portman could consume. For the repeaters, the trip would have involved not only the pleasure of recognizing what they had experienced before, but of 'proving' their experience to other aborigines, 'introducing' novices to wonders that they themselves experienced differently from whites and Indians, and generating new hierarchies between experienced and inexperienced savages.

As before, the displays are not immune to resistance or the loss of control: the actor is not a puppet. Like Corbyn, Portman acknowledges that the travelers remained silent about their experience until they were back in the islands and could tell friends and relatives about 'the impression the visit has made upon them.'[154] The Andamanese preference in presents deviates from what Britons choose for them: whereas the latter ply the Andamanese with 'English' artifacts and competitive assertions of cultural superiority, the former are disappointingly pragmatic. The expert in charge of the Naga brings the wrong savages together at the wrong time and place, and the resulting entertainment is embarrassing to the exhibitors. The incident when the Andamanese 'misbehave' in the bazaar is, likewise, a reminder of the fragility of the ringmaster's power. But even these incidents may be experienced as pleasure when the ringmaster positions himself as a scientist, because that position generates a remove from nakedly political stewardship. Within this remove, the colonizer can produce particular kinds of knowledge ('intelligence,' 'mischievousness'), and even be amused himself. At the very least, he can experience the thrill of being barely in control of something 'treacherous' such as an animal in a circus ring or a germ in a laboratory.

Conclusion

To glimpse the layered pleasures of kidnapping in the Andamans, it is useful to look at the British practice of taking the Andamanese to see Barren Island, an offshore volcano. Homfray made such a trip with a group in 1866, leading Ford to observe with satisfaction that 'they were greatly surprised at the sight of the volcano on this island, for which . . . they had no name, nor had they ever heard of the Island before.'[155] Portman and Cadell undertook a similar journey in 1880. After the customary remark that the aborigines were unfamiliar with Barren Island, the new OC-Andamanese noted:

> We ascended the cone, and the Andamanese were much astonished with what they saw; as the crater was choked up forming a hard level surface, they commenced their usual dance on this, until the hollow, ringing sound frightened them. The volcano was quiescent, and a little steam was issuing from the sulphur bed near the top of the cone. The outer ring is densely

> wooded and . . . [the] woods are crowded with flying foxes, which the Andamanese discovered, and proceeded to kill and eat. Some . . . thought that the shortest way to get down the cone was to sit down and slide. They reached the bottom very quickly [and] the sharp cinders tore both the cloth and the flesh off.[156]

For Homfray, Ford, Cadell and Portman, taking the Andamanese to Barren Island was a way of displaying to them an awesome geography of colonialism, and deriving pleasure and power from that display. But transported savages were not just objects of wonder; they were themselves wondering and discovering subjects, and were not always impressed as intended. They may have been 'astonished' but they were not paralyzed, either by the volcano or by the unstated possibility that the British might abandon them there: they danced in the crater and turned bats into food. To some extent they hijacked the semi-coercive terms of their engagement with the settlement. In this, they echoed the conduct of the settlement's aboriginal fellow-travelers who converted captivity and relocation into semi-autonomous theaters of agency, knowledge, adventure, play, mobility and material gain. They informed the construction of their savagery and their 'Andamanese' identity, and were not passive or silent.

While the response of the savage could not be fully predicted or controlled by the colonizer, it could nevertheless be appropriated as pleasure, signifying the simultaneous possession of savagery and the colonized space of its performance. This space – the sites where kidnapping unfolded as rituals, spectacles, contests and narratives – was, essentially, the clearing. The Andamanese touring Barren Island, Calcutta or the superintendent's house on Ross Island produced in their captors and guides the pleasures of showing off a wondrous world, and of being in a wondrous world, where the company of savages heightened the wonder. Watching the Andamanese (and white sailors) skin their buttocks on the cinder cone was, in that sense, like watching aborigines negotiate a busy street in Calcutta. These were agonizing but entertaining spectacles of British ownership of the island volcano, the colonial city and the captive savage, and they compensated for the existence of the jungle as a zone beyond civilized ownership.

4 The dying savage

Work, medicine and Andamanese extinction

The aborigine that crystallized in the Andamans during the armed clashes of the 1850s and 1860s was, to a considerable degree, a creature constituted by interconnected processes of labor and medicine. The savage of Dickens and Henry Maine projected an existential aversion to toil. This meant a disinterest in work associated with civilization as well as subalternity: not only the labor of cultivation and manufacture, but the menial work of servants, slaves and sepoys. Medical interest in the Andamanese goes back to the outset of the second settlement. Mouat, who was aware that high death rates among the convicts had brought about the abandonment of the first colony, began the medical study of living and dead Andamanese bodies as soon as he could get his hands on them.[1] By the early 1860s, the Asiatic Society was taking an interest in the corpses of Andamanese who died in colonial hospitals,[2] and in the next decade E. H. Man became intrigued by constipation, diarrhea and aboriginal responses to Dr. De Jonghi's Castor Oil.[3] Man and Portman both took a sympathetic interest in indigenous medicine, which found a niche in anthropology when Britons no longer took it seriously as treatment.[4] Indeed, this medical curiosity was instrumental in the transformation of the shadowy cannibal into an embodied counter-player of the colonizer. When the Andamanese were subsequently enveloped by diseases, they were encapsulated in new layers of medical language and policies that sought to discipline them as patients and fossils. Moreover, the savage caught in a labor regime was also a medicalized savage, since the working body on the edge of a penal colony, with its influential doctors,[5] was necessarily endowed with a medically ascertained capacity (or incapacity) for labor.

Work and medicine transformed savagery in the Andamans in ways that were not readily predictable. In the 1860s, modest but not inconsiderable efforts were made by the Port Blair regime to 'civilize' a segment of the aboriginal population by putting it to work. The ideological justifications for the attempt bracketed the establishment of the settlement. In 1835–1836, the House of Commons Select Committee on Aborigines had expressed the hope

that civilization would equip indigenous people to resist the vices of settlers.[6] On a less generous note, John Lubbock (who was read respectfully by Man) argued in 1870 that savages in the modern world were not just under-evolved but incapable of evolving, and that empires were therefore entitled and obligated to utilize them as laborers.[7] These developments would appear to support Kaushik Ghosh's analysis of 'tribal' labor in nineteenth-century India, where, he argues, conquest and discourse irresistibly reconfigured aboriginality as a vast pool of coolies.[8] In the Andamans, however, local realities and imaginaries interfered with metropolitan theorizing and crude schemes of appropriation. Here, conquest was not straightforward and commercial exploitation was not an overwhelming imperative. Moreover, the explosive 'discovery' of epidemic and endemic disease among the aborigines not only cast the connection between civilization and survival in a different light, it reinforced a perception that a savage body healthy enough for manual work was a contradiction in terms.

While medicine, like work, was brought to bear upon the aboriginal population as a powerful instrument of discipline, it actually killed the Andamanese. This was not in the sense that the indigenous population was worked to death or callously infected by incompetent and malicious colonizers, although incidents of reckless exposure undoubtedly occurred. Work and medicine 'killed' the islanders in the sense that by the end of the century, several medically-supported 'truths' about their status as workers, patients and savages had come to be widely accepted. The most central of these was the conviction that the Andamanese were a 'dying race,' and that civilization – including civilized work and civilized germs – had contributed to their imminent extinction. While the rhetoric was not unique to the Andamans, neither was it enslaved to the civilizing-expansionist project that Nicolson has called 'settler medicine.'[9] Instead, it opened the door for a new savage and its defining space: the living dead in a fossilized habitat that was to be shielded from civilization, including its work.

Their new status as fossils did not mean that aborigines were excused from work of all kinds. It meant that Andamanese who entered the clearing were directed towards new forms of *uncivilized* work, or activities not easily captured within a civilized language of labor. They were no longer required to cultivate crops, but were pressured to hunt runaway convicts in the jungle, and to manufacture bows, arrows and harpoons for Portman and a shadowy army of collectors, curators and anthropologists. Instead of working as 'servants,' they became 'assistants' who helped the civilized preserve the savagery of their dying world. Drawn into redefined notions of viability and work that subverted the binary of savagery and civilization, they enacted a funereal vision of Otherness in rituals consumed by the aesthetes and scientists who inherited the clearing from the warriors of the settler colony.

The working savage

> On trying to get them to do anything in the shape of work they only laughed, and would try for a few minutes and then give up and point to their arms and legs.
>
> Tytler[10]

Unlike their fellow-savages the Nicobarese, who enjoyed the image of nature's children living easily in paradise,[11] the Andamanese struck the administrators of the penal colony as perversely lazy in their relationship to nature. The 'hellish' discourse of the jungle in the Andamans is more evocative of the morbid tropicality of Guyane[12] than the permanent springtime of New Caledonia or Tahiti; there were few obvious excuses to not struggle, for redemption and improvement if not for survival. While some visitors to the islands, like Day in 1870, speculated that the Andamanese were lazy because nature provided for their needs, few Britons in the Andamans believed that the problem lay in an excess of natural generosity. The more common idea was that even when nature had provided, the Andamanese had neglected or destroyed the gifts.[13] When the early warfare between Port Blair and the Andamanese subsided and the Andaman Homes were established in precarious triumph, significant efforts were made to teach aborigines to perform varieties of labor that the regime recognized as 'work.' This work may be organized into three broad categories and roughly periodized. There was (first) the work of servants, (then) the work of cultivators, laborers and slaves, and (finally) the work of sepoys. In each case, the Homes were critically important, providing not only a space where work could be invented, performed and contained, but a pool of workers and an infrastructure of control that went beyond the work itself.

The use of Andamanese servants by Europeans can be traced back to the first settlement: Kyd took one back to Calcutta, where the boy was 'much noticed for the striking singularity of his appearance.'[14] Early appropriations were driven by the pleasures of trophy collection, rather than by any civilizing agenda.[15] More servants surface in the inter-settlement period: a 'tractable and docile' Andamanese boy, possibly kidnapped by Chinese and Burmese sailors and taken to Penang, was employed by a Captain Anderson of the Bengal Army in 1819.[16] Rodyk recalled two child-servants in Penang in the late 1830s, Mary Andaman and Friday Andaman. Mary, who worked in the home of T. G. Mitchel, the head clerk in the Police Court, seems to have gone on to a career as an ayah in Malacca and Singapore, and eventually opened 'a school for native children.'[17] H. Kinsey, an officer on the ship *Lonach*, wrote in 1861 about another incident in the 1830s, when his vessel had picked up a group of starving Andamanese from a canoe between Narcondam and Barren

Island.[18] At least one of the surviving girls was acquired by a European family in Penang as a servant, with mixed results: while undoubtedly 'clever,' she had no appreciation of clothes.[19] Corbyn (and later Richard Temple) informs us that there were other Andamanese women working in Penang and Singapore during this period. Portman speculates that several of these stories referred to the girl picked up by the *Lonach*.[20]

Whether there was one girl or many, by the time the first Home opened Andamanese trophy-servants had already gained currency within narratives of colonialism in the Indian Ocean and become linked to the performance of civilization. After 1863, adult and juvenile Andamanese who became servants were drawn primarily from the Homes and the Orphanage. There were reasons for this apart from the function of these institutions as reservoirs of aboriginal bodies. These bodies had already been subjected to preliminary rituals of civilization. The education devised by Corbyn and Homfray for Andamanese children had much in common with the disciplining education imparted to subaltern natives in clergy-run institutions elsewhere in India and the empire,[21] given to the children of decadent native elites (such as young princes[22]), or inflicted upon young whites in other colonies.[23] It was based on broad assumptions about the essential savagery of all children and the juvenile condition of well-managed savages, narrower assumptions about the greater savagery of particular children, and the need to impose internalized restraints and hegemonies of age and authority understood as 'order,' 'decency' and 'obedience.' At the same time, it had class-specific and race-based elements that imposed specific attitudes towards property and work, especially the work of servants and laborers. The idea of teaching Andamanese children English, which Corbyn had experimented with, receded in the mid-1860s: there was little room in the colony for English-speaking aborigines. Homfray's pedagogy was tailored towards turning savages into servants by teaching them the importance of physical cleanliness and cooked food.[24]

In the late 1860s, children as young as 6 were being brought into the Homes for training as domestic servants.[25] Not only was their procurement closely tied to colonial projects of kidnapping and orphan production, the preference for children reflects the difficulties experienced by Britons in managing adult aborigines.[26] The use of Andamanese servants continued following the epidemics of the 1870s; at least four boys were employed in domestic work in 1882 and two others worked in the Superintendent's Printing Office.[27] The Orphanage operated through the 1880s as an engine for the insertion of Andamanese children into a menial class, and occasionally 'gave' them to British officials in the islands.

Nevertheless, in this later period, the issue of Andamanese servants became contentious and their use less common. Most obviously, the epidemics had generated an anxiety about the prospect of medical contagion in households

where aborigines would mix – socially and sexually – with Indian servants.[28] Regarding the employment of native maids in white households, McClintock has suggested that the arrangement brought together the sexual-patriarchal, global-political and racial-economic orders of empire.[29] Grand orders, however, tended to break down constantly, and 'improper' sexual-social mixing was its most prominent sign. In the Portman era, such mingling was looked on both as an opportunity for scientific investigation and as matter of racial erosion and great regret.[30] The household of the lay European, at that stage, had become the dark counterpart to the ordered, more rigorously supervised, domestic and sexual world of Portman's own household.

Closely related to the fear of miscegenation and corruption were concerns about the 'character' that was revealed by savages-turned-servants. Given the chronic anxieties of nineteenth-century colonizers about the secret lives of native servants, this is not altogether surprising.[31] Located between intimacy and strangeness, inhabiting both the private/white/home and the public/ black/bazaar (or jungle), native servants occupied niches that were peculiarly liminal and powerful.[32] When the servants were savages who carried the additional load of being neither Indian nor white, the fear of harboring agents of sexual, medical, political and racial corruption would have been that much greater: the dominance of the colonizer-householder could not be assured if he or she could not locate the servant with confidence.[33] Character, by which Victorians meant the capacity for self-control,[34] was in any case difficult to reconcile with savagery, and the expression 'bad character' was used liberally by Portman, P. Chard (supervisor of the Orphanage in the 1880s) and their colleagues to express their disapproval of Andamanese servants. They did not use the expression to indicate savagery itself, but its dislocation and perversion. 'Bad character' in the Andamanese was ascribed only to individuals taken into the heart of the colony, be that Port Blair, Calcutta or Rangoon. The term was never used with savages in the jungle, no matter how troublesome these might be. Bad character in the aborigine indicates something worse than savagery: it signifies the fallen savage, whose immersion in the civilized world has demonstrated the incompatibility between that world and the savage, and also the British inability to control the process of immersion. Control, in this context, would mean transformation without contamination.

Control proved elusive, especially in the immediate aftermath of the epidemics when the institutions of the clearing were still disrupted. After a mass escape of would-be servants from the Orphanage in 1883, Chard wrote: 'This incident . . . probably serves to show what little success has attended the project of cultivating in Andamanese boys . . . a taste for settled life, for a livelihood gained by handicraft, farming, cultivation, or domestic service.'[35] While the Orphanage and Homes did not discontinue their policy of

occasionally 'sending up' aborigines for work as servants, their focus shifted discernibly towards a new objective: 'training' Andamanese to return to the jungle, where they might live as hygienic, bilingual and friendly savages.[36] This was essentially a foreshadowing of the 'new savage' that would inhabit Portman's clearing in the 1890s, when the latter had successfully made his argument in favor of nurturing a purity that precluded aboriginal participation in the civilized economy.

The tribe of carpenters, weavers, boatmen and cultivators of the 1860s worked under the auspices of the Homes. Commenting appreciatively on the workers, Tytler wrote in 1863: 'Their hitherto docile conduct and good behavior is the astonishment of all. Here they may be seen sitting down, some working and making baskets, the women sewing clothes.'[37] Corbyn, however, complicated this satisfying picture:

> During . . . February, 1864, the number of aborigines . . . [at the Home] was upwards of forty; who were daily employed in work with Native convicts . . . clearing sites, making thatching and bamboo frame-work, and helping in other ways in the construction of their own houses, piggeries and cattle-sheds; but soon severe illness began to prevail amongst them, and various causes combined to render them dissatisfied with their condition and treatment here. The monthly allowance . . . did not suffice for their wants. The Andaman Home was no longer tenable, and their only dwelling was a small cow-shed, which they shared with cattle.[38]

Two points can be made immediately. One is that the labor regime that Tytler describes merges the Mill-derived prescription of obedience for people in a state of 'savage independence' with the prescription of 'monotonous and repetitive forms of labor' for members of 'slave societies.'[39] The spectacle of aborigines working obediently in a setting they shared with Indian convicts (and cattle) is, in that sense, a familiar vision of successful savage-management and the integration of savages into a laboring subaltern class, and is consistent with a project for civilization – a deliberate and inevitable, if ambiguously desirable, transformation of nature – that Mouat imagined at the outset of the second settlement.[40]

A second point is that Tytler describes a fantasy while Corbyn, who sees a relatively ragged labor regime, for once has his feet planted firmly on the ground. The number of aborigines involved is still small, limited by the political realities of the Home. Resistance is clearly not futile, sickness already threatens to overwhelm medical civilization, and the infrastructure of work is at best makeshift. Few administrators either in the Andamans or on the mainland envisioned a wholesale integration of the aborigines into the

mainstream of settlement society. Whereas, as Rachel Tolen has shown, the 'criminal tribes' of India could be targeted for integration into a reformed world of native peasants,[41] the Andamanese retained a definitive externality on the edge of the colony, outside normative native-ness. The experiment should therefore be regarded as a semi-fraudulent gesture towards civilizing colonialism: a limited demonstration of authority whose economic benefits were secondary to other considerations, such as the pleasure of experimentation, the continuing revelation of savagery, and the establishment of a model of social and political organization in the colony. This is, in fact, consistent with the basic purpose of the Homes, which were better equipped to impress, display and command savages than to transform them fundamentally.

It was clear to colonial administrators – including Tytler – that the Andamanese could be set to work in significant numbers only with a massive outlay of the coercive resources of the state. Tytler's picture of the obediently laboring aborigine, for all its apparent tranquility, is actually the mirror image of the treacherous enemy produced by counterinsurgency. In a moment of acute frustration, Tytler had envisioned deporting the Andamanese to the Cocos Islands for forced labor.[42] The fantasy of the savage working without compulsion on Ross Island is a precariously generated moment of docility in that same adversary. In that moment, the prosaic enemy has been reinvested with wonder. The 'strange and marvelous change' in the behavior of Andamanese workers that Tytler mentions[43] actually reinforces the familiar expectations of savagery, but the emphasis is on the strange and the marvelous rather than on change. It is the savage-at-work that is amazing to Tytler.

Wonder and the production of savagery are both evident in Corbyn's narratives of trying to make aborigines work. In a report to Tytler soon after the opening of the first Home, Corbyn wrote about his new wards:

> Snowball and Jumbo . . . were set to work at basket and *morah* making, at which Jingo, a very quiet and tractable man, but who at first seemed the most unruly, assisted them; while Jacko and Joe were daily instructed by a Burmese to make bamboo matting for flooring, the women Topsy and Bess receiving lessons in sewing. They all showed a strong disinclination to do work of any kind. Joe, who is a very dodging and deceptive man, but extremely playful, almost always laughing and in high spirits, would try every artifice to escape the mat-work . . . Jacko showed a more pugnacious spirit, and was inclined to resist with force till he found such resistance unavailing. The same opposition was encountered in teaching Topsy and Bess sewing, but they were soon overcome with firmness, and . . . both the Andamanese women gave proof that they had a real aptitude for delicate manual labor. These trifling

> points . . . serve to bring more vividly before the mind's eye the movements and actions, the habits, character, and dispositions of the curious and interesting people of whom I am writing.[44]

Work was obviously deployed at the Home as a technique of control, and the Andamanese knew it. Their resistance reinforced the familiar notions of savage cunning, laziness and irresponsibility as well as amusement and vexation. The idea of transforming at least some Andamanese into workers and peasants did not die easily; Homfray clung to it through the 1860s. By the end of the decade, however, even Homfray's faith had faltered, coming to reside exclusively in children.[45] Ford, who succeeded Tytler as superintendent, reached a similar conclusion about the incompatibility of adult savages and labor: it was not simply that they would not work, it was also, increasingly, that they could not work unless habituated from childhood.[46] Thus, while it is unclear whether aboriginal labor produced much of value in the civilized economy, it is quite apparent that it produced the models of savagery that were dominant in the period before the epidemics.

It also produced moments of acute discomfort about the processes by which labor was extracted, and about the civilized status of the colonial enterprise itself. As much as individual Britons played with savagery, the political and moral project of colonial rule could not be allowed to drift from civilization without annihilating itself, and aspects of the labor regime threatened to achieve exactly that. In a settlement where inter-island communication was of critical importance, Andamanese men and boys served as boat crew and, occasionally, as sailors on longer voyages. This began immediately after the establishment of the Home and continued into the Portman years. In the 1860s, the training of aborigines in the operation of boats was pursued energetically, especially by Homfray.[47] Corbyn described these workers as hard-working, cheerful and obedient.[48] The boatmen, however, were tied to the Home and the Orphanage, the matter of wages is unclear, and Portman explicitly described the workers (some of whom were children recruited from the Nursery on Viper Island) as 'slaves.'[49] He blamed Homfray directly, and credited Tuson, who was OC-Andamanese shortly before Portman, with having liberated the slaves.

The results of the liberation were predictable: 'As soon as they found that they were not compelled by force to work, all the boatmen and so called cultivators abandoned their labours and reverted to their jungle life,' Portman observed.[50] More unfortunate, however, was the condition from which the aborigines had apparently been liberated. British discourse on the Andamanese was suffused with the rhetoric of slavery: the kidnapping and enslavement of the islanders by Malays, Arabs and assorted other non-European actors.[51] In the post-1834 phase of British colonialism, opposition to slavery (or, at any

rate, the non-practice of slavery) functioned as a major moral pillar, not only of the political projects of conquest and rule but of a benign, liberating whiteness that could be set apart from the racialized evil of other conquerors and kidnappers. Portman, whose father owned a cotton plantation in the American south, may have been especially sensitive to signs of enslavement. It might also be suggested, as Bullard has done in the case of French thinking during that period, that slavery produced an ideological echo of cannibalism – it was an economic version of the consumption of human bodies – and that this reversed the moral positions of the civilized/colonizer and the savage/colonized.[52]

Yet the prevailing European model of savagery, with its emphases on the blackness, wildness, uselessness and idleness of the would-be slave, tended to auto-generate the language of enslavement in situations of compelled labor, and it could not be convincingly denied that Andamanese boat crews and others often worked under great compulsion. Not surprisingly, the 'discovery' of enslavement, the declared end of compulsion and its rediscovery are recurrent features of the narrative of aboriginal labor in the Andamans.[53] The problem was built into the language of work, race and savagery in nineteenth-century colonialism and it was almost impossible to 'solve' it decisively.

Portman's reaction to Tuson's act of liberation is doubly complicated. Since Portman saw slavery in the Andamans as corrupting (of the civilized and of the savage), unethical and diluting of the intimacy between sahib and savage (because of the heavy involvement of convict intermediaries), he was pleased to find evidence of its demise. However, the lesson that he drew from the Andamanese response to freedom is a confirmation of their savagery: they had to be enslaved to make them work, and they 'reverted' to idleness in the jungle as soon as compulsion ended. Moreover, Portman himself was heavily reliant on Andamanese workers, especially boatmen, and was thus vulnerable to the allegation of slavery. He had, however, protected his discursive flanks by abjuring the language of servitude and even of work. The aborigines who crewed Portman's boats (and those who lived in his home) are never referred to as servants, and just as importantly, their work was represented by Portman as an improvement, not a negation, of their savagery.[54] In addition, he had averted or disguised slavery by a method that Indrani Chatterjee has noted elsewhere in colonial India: by emphasizing the location of his 'boys' in his 'home,' he had folded enslavement into domesticity.[55] He had, in other words, reconciled savagery and work by denying that the savage was working.

The reconceptualization of aboriginal labor informed the task that the Andamanese were increasingly and primarily charged with after the 1870s: hunting runaway convicts. Portman was the major architect and champion of the shift, which reflected his conviction that while savagery precluded

agriculture and commerce,[56] it was entirely consistent with irregular sepoy-work in the jungle. The roots of runaway-hunting, however, went back to the early years of the Home. In 1864, during one of the settlement's periodic outbreaks of anxiety about enslavement at the Home, there had been considerable tension between Corbyn and the Government of India, leading ultimately to Corbyn's resignation as OC-Andamanese and his replacement by Homfray.[57] The Home Department had demanded detailed reports on Corbyn's policies, and this had generated the long 'Narratives' that Corbyn wrote in his own defense. In these, Corbyn announces a limited program of using the Andamanese to hunt runaway convicts.[58] (This program, which he disingenuously claims as his own, was actually forced on him by his superiors; for Corbyn, the Andamanese savage, being a creature of 'passions' and the enemy of the settler-colonist, was self-evidently the object of policing, not its instrument.)

The decision that the Andamanese be employed as an informal police was grounded not only in the practical and ideological difficulties of 'civilized labor,' but also in discomfort with the apparent uselessness of aborigines who received material benefits through the Home but seemed to contribute little in exchange. H. Man, who returned to the penal colony as superintendent in the late 1860s and was generally uninterested in making peasants out of aborigines, nevertheless showed a keen desire to make the Andamanese 'work for their food,' reluctant to give something away for nothing.[59] His eventual successor Stewart was even more insistent upon establishing a link between utility and reward at the Homes, seeing it as critical to assessing the 'good behavior' of the Andamanese and the authority of his regime.[60] Under the circumstances, small-scale convict-hunting expeditions were organized well before Portman became OC-Andamanese.

By 1870–1871, those Andamanese who were engaged in these operations were categorized by Port Blair as 'useful' and 'well-behaved.'[61] The regime had begun to re-order the political structure of tribal society around convict-hunting operations, rewarding cooperative aborigines with titles and sponsorship. Maia Biala, the chief of Rutland Island, had 'especially distinguished himself in catching runaways.'[62] On the surface, this is a major, albeit contextual mitigation of aboriginal savagery. It should be kept in mind, however, that participation in runaway-hunting would have been a sporadic response on the part of limited numbers of Andamanese, and would not have generated a significant measure of 'civilization.' The skills involved in 'hunting' were essentially savage skills, and the rewards given to the hunters – mirrors, beads, even titles like 'chief'[63] – were characteristically savage-oriented, reinforcing the marginality of the Andamanese to the civilized colony. What Portman did with this rudimentary system was give it a coherent ideology that preserved the importance of utility in a strictly political sense,

while doing away with any pretense or intention of producing civilization. By rehabilitating savagery, ignoring or rejecting the settler-colonial dilemma that had hamstrung Corbyn and Homfray, and utilizing the expanded network of Andaman Homes, Portman was able to restructure convict-hunting as the major duty of the savage subject, who answered not to the civilized authority of the penal colony but to the ambiguously civilized OC-Andamanese.

For the runaway-hunters, the operations had their own meanings, uses and risks. Maia Biala, who presumably had an extant position of political privilege in his group, was able to reinforce and expand that position by 'leading' efforts in convict-hunting and sailor-saving, and it is almost certain that others were able to utilize the project to renegotiate their status in the jungle and the clearing.[64] Runaway-hunting also affected (and was affected by) Andamanese relations with convicts, who were left vulnerable to harassment by opportunistic aborigines and liable to retaliate violently.[65] Andamanese hunting parties looking for rewards frequently 'captured' self-supporter convicts who were not runaways at all, having misunderstood or not cared sufficiently about the identity of their target.[66]

It is also apparent that even in the 1880s and 1890s, the Andamanese had to be coerced to remain at the Homes and serve as an unofficial police, and that this generated resentment. In 1890–1891, Portman wrote:

> The Andamanese at the Homes have been continually employed during the year in hunting runaway convicts . . . Very much of the work [has] been thrown on them, and they have in consequence grumbled loudly that they never have any time for their other pleasures and pursuits; even at last threatening to do no more work. As these people are not slaves, and can only be persuaded, not compelled, to work for us in this manner, and as no presents or luxuries we can give them will compensate them for the pleasures of their jungle life, I have been obliged to arrange the runaway hunting on a different footing.[67]

The specter of slavery had clearly not been banished. The work done by aboriginal runaway-hunters is best described as assistance from the margins: a casual economic relationship that did not involve any acceptance by the Andamanese of the social and political hegemony of the settlement.

Two broad points may be made in summary. First, there were marked differences of emphases between aboriginal labor in the 1860s and the labor regime of the later period, reflecting different constructions and uses of savagery. In the initial period, work that was explicitly intended to produce civilization in fact produced savagery. In the latter period, savagery itself was re-imagined as useful, and was chained – awkwardly – to the utilitarian goals of the penal colony. Second, in both periods, the work that the Andamanese

did for the settlement fell into an identifiable pattern. When it was coerced, it involved relatively few individuals, because the state lacked the resources and the will to compel significant numbers to work against their will. When it was voluntary or semi-voluntary, it involved greater numbers, but it was marginal assistance: occasional help given by an irregular workforce located at the periphery of the settlement, such as Portman's boatmen and runaway-hunters.

The Andamanese were not 'converted into a free laboring and civilized population' (as the Government of India had, as late as 1871, wistfully hoped that they would be[68]), primarily because the regime in Port Blair was not strong enough to 'convert' very many, and secondarily because conversion lost ideological currency in the Portman era. This state of affairs was perhaps best reflected in a complaint by Homfray about aborigines asked to gather honey which might then be sold in the settlement. The scheme was typical of savage-rehabilitation work: not involving the teaching of radically new skills or assimilation into the settlement, but nevertheless persuading the Andamanese to do recognizable work, to participate in the colonial economy, and to acknowledge the authority of the regime. The snag, Homfray explained, was that while aborigines were quite willing to gather the honey, they would eat it before it reached the market.[69]

Savage medicine

Why would savages not work? In the Andamans, this was not just a question for frustrated administrators to ponder, but a medical wonder rooted in aboriginality and the nature of the colony, with its dichotomy of civilization and jungle. Lacking the military resources to 'conquer' the interior, the British in Port Blair relied on a slower, but not ineffective, policy of gradual encroachment. This stuttering penetration, punctuated by axe-strokes, illnesses and deaths, raised unavoidable questions about work and survival in the jungle. Furthermore, forest clearance, the creation of new settlements of self-supporter pioneers and the pursuit of runaways all facilitated the appropriation of dying and surviving Andamanese bodies. Not surprisingly, doctors and modern medicine were in vanguard of the project of producing and controlling savagery in the islands. This engagement was not as narrowly instrumentalist as the medical colonialism Nicolson has ascribed to nineteenth-century New Zealand; the British in the Andamans were rarely interested in improving, absorbing or 'disappearing' their aborigines to make room for civilization.[70] It was, instead, a modality of salvaging knowledge and pleasure from morbidity.

Colonial medicine in the Andamans was inseparably connected to the bifurcated tropicality of the place. Scientifically and romantically

inclined Britons were not immune to the charms of the jungle, but the jungle also terrified them. This could be a matter of perspective. Illustrating a halt in the islands during the first Anglo-Burmese War, J. Grierson described an 'exceedingly romantic and beautiful spot,' then changed narrative gears:

> The dark and heaving foliage . . . though pleasing at a distance, is very different on nearer inspection. Little else is to be seen for many miles than [mangrove] trees, with their deformed roots. The country (if it can be so called, where there is no appearance of *soil*) presents an endless labyrinth of creeks and lagoons, and scenery of the most dismal and desolate character that can well be imagined.[71]

The 'garden' that Blair had laid out in the jungle had already been devoured by nature.[72] Mouat's 'wide-angle' vision of the coast from the *Pluto* was also one of breath-taking, serene beauty. 'The land presented . . . a spectacle of the most lovely and attractive description,' he wrote.[73] Up close, however, pleasure degenerated into what Simon Schama has called 'incongruous dread,'[74] and 'it was not long before our men began to suffer much from illness and general depression.'[75] The jungle revealed its treachery: 'beautiful pools of fresh water, the diamond sparkle of which pleased the eye' and the fantasy of a 'fair and fertile land' turned quickly into the vivid terror of crossing a channel thick with rotting vegetation from which 'noxious exhalations' bubbled: an environment that was neither land nor water but pure disease.[76] Returning to the 'clean, well-ordered' deck of the *Pluto* was 'like paradise again.'[77]

In the deadly combination of deformed forest and engulfing swamp, health and labor were conceptually inseparable: health required the labor of clearing jungle and draining marshes, and labor required healthy bodies. Mouat, when not in fear of death by inhalation, saw bad tropicality – which he recognized as a discursive by-product of savagery even as he surrendered to the discourse[78] – as a challenge and an invitation: turning the soil would expose it to light and air, eradicating the 'seeds of disease . . . and death.'[79] In 1877, the Secretary of State for India reiterated the hope that clearing the forest would 'conduce to the health of the Settlement.'[80]

The mid-1870s, however, also saw a refocusing of medical anxiety in the islands, with the outbreak of new diseases that killed or debilitated much of the aboriginal population.[81] Andamanese who came into contact with convicts, soldiers and sailors took the contagion back into the jungle with them, with deadly results. The infection of aborigines had two immediate consequences for the colonial regime. First, it curtailed the labor fantasy. Not only were relatively few bodies available that were healthy enough to work, administrators suspected that sites of work were also sites of contagion,

and that the nature of the labor – especially agriculture – damaged aboriginal bodies.[82] This required a radical rethinking of what work the Andamanese might be required to do, and also a reconsideration of the future of savagery in the islands. Second, and more dramatically, disease presented the colonial regime with a political opening: doctors, supported by posses of convicts and soldiers, could legitimately pursue aborigines into the jungle or detain them in the settlement, converting them into insurgents as well as patients, adversaries of the state but also its protégés.

Medical curiosity about Andamanese bodies emerges early in the history of the second settlement, beginning with Dr. Mouat's semi-apologetic decision to kidnap a man explicitly for the benefit of civilization.[83] S.A. St. John, who thoroughly enjoyed his visit to the islands in 1865, noted with astonishment that the aborigines were 'quite free of parasites.'[84] While there is a slight possibility that St. John had personally checked people for parasites, it is more likely that his information came from Homfray. Corbyn had already demonstrated his susceptibility to the wonder of medicalized savage bodies; he was, moreover, one of the first Britons to voice the suspicion that the Andamanese might be physically unfit for the labor of civilization. Operating within the nineteenth-century understanding of the relationship between climates and bodies,[85] Corbyn wrote in 1863:

> The number of sick . . . that we have seen . . . shews that with all their hardy habits and simple and primitive mode of living, the damp and malarious climate of the Andamans tries even their robust constitutions very severely. It seems a matter of surprise to some persons that so much sickness should prevail amongst Europeans and Natives on the sea-girt island which we occupy, but they would no longer wonder at it if they could see the effect of the South-West Monsoon on the aborigines . . ., who it might be supposed would be thoroughly acclimatized. The most curious is that they appear to enjoy better health on their own selected swampy grounds, and under their half-exposed and feebly protected dwellings, than on [Ross] island, which is cleared of all jungle, and where they have the comfort of a well-ventilated and thoroughly water-tight house, raised about three feet from the ground, besides the advantage of ample clothing, warm blankets, and simple and wholesome food, with no work to do, but learning the alphabet, and walking exercise *ad libitum.* They suffer most from coughs and colds, ague, fever, and severe headache. It is thought that their 'tattooing' is for a sanitary purpose, for they always wish to do it . . . when they are suffering from any illness.[86]

Corbyn was in fact responding to three wonders: *any* sickness in an island setting, the sickness of the Andamanese at the Home, and their good health

in the jungle. He read the first in terms of a universality of bodies responding to the environment, but the second and third in terms of the difference of racialized bodies placed in similar climatic and cultural-medical environments. (That the Andamanese were immune to malaria – the defining disease of the penal colony – eventually became an article of faith for British administrators.[87]) Labeled 'surprising' and 'curious,' this difference was simultaneously itself savage, a mark of savagery, and a producer of savage behavior such as tattooing and bleeding.

Looking back at Corbyn from his perch at the end of the century, Portman remarked acidly that medicinal bleeding had a European history as well and implied that his predecessor's wonderment was naïve,[88] but he was himself deeply invested in the medical revelation of the savage body: it was 'wonderful,' Portman wrote, how syphilitic Andamanese responded to treatment.[89] Between Corbyn and Portman, living and dead savages were practically immersed in medicine and were produced dripping with its discourse: Ford declared in 1867 that the Andamanese were 'constitutionally . . . weak' and peculiarly susceptible to fever and tuberculosis,[90] and when kidnapped Andamanese children died in Bengal in 1870, it immediately generated another discussion of peculiar bodies and climates.[91] The decade of disease that followed was nothing less than a goldmine, producing not only a wealth of information about bodies subjected to various political-medical regimens, but a substantial mass of history. Here also, the relatively docile bodies of children became rich sources of medical-historical knowledge, and Portman mused:

> The fact of children being affected with [syphilis] showed that it must have been of some years standing. It had probably been introduced at least six years previously . . . and subsequent enquiries showed that it had at this time, infected members of distant tribes in the Middle Andaman.[92]

The 'discovery' of syphilis in the Andamans in 1876 located the wonder of the medicalized savage on a grid of known events and possibilities. By the mid-nineteenth century, Edmonds writes, the sickness of savages was already established in Anglo–French discourse as a displaced fear of extinction.[93] Nevertheless, it remained a revelation. Not only was a familiar disease, presumably brought by the colonizers, discovered anew in the normatively pristine aboriginal body, it was immediately linked by the senior British officers – Superintendent C. Barwell, Man, Portman – to moral discoveries such as poor hygiene, promiscuity, helplessness and a childish aversion to doctors.[94] References to promiscuity and 'free love' are ubiquitous in contemporary discussions of syphilis in the Andamans, indicating a distinctly

erotic subtext within the medical discourse of savagery, with science facilitating and partially clothing the sexual fantasy of 'tropical island' colonialism.[95]

While administrators could not resist seeing syphilis in the Andamans as evidence of a 'timeless' savage nature, they simultaneously recognized it as a highly contemporary product of the clearing, and of a history that might or might not include Europeans. During the conquest of Little Andaman in 1885, Portman and his medical colleague Dr. Gupta examined the teeth of the newly pacified Onge, found syphilis, and found it necessary to explain this undeniably historical development. Portman rejected the possibility that Europeans or Indians were responsible, gesturing vaguely at Malays and Chinese and suggesting that the Onge were the products of pre-colonial episodes of miscegenation – in other words, that they were definitively contaminated.[96] The diseased body could thus reveal the racial-biological history of the savage even as it absolved the colonizer of the moment. Measles, too, had historicizing and politically potent implications, allowing British observers of sick Andamanese to locate their patients and policies on a map of imperial medicine and to charge each other with incompetence, neglect or mass murder. Portman wrote:

> When . . . [E.H.] Man knew of the existence of [measles in the Andamans] he took prompt action, but he did not know of it until too late. The medical authorities on Ross Island, where the measles originated, did not inform him . . ., nor did the officer in charge of the Andaman Orphanage . . . take any precautions. The doctors never seem to have thought about the Andamanese . . ., though a recent similar outbreak at Fiji should have warned them, and to their neglect the partial extermination of the race is due.[97]

Like the history of a particular disease, aboriginal responses to medicine were highly constitutive of savagery, and not only because of the 'wonderful' receptiveness of their bodies to treatment. As early as the mid-1830s, an Andamanese woman picked up at sea had attempted to brain Dr. Boswell, the Civil Surgeon of Penang, with a water pot while he was bleeding her companion.[98] The incident foreshadowed not only patterns of Andamanese resistance, but British perceptions of that resistance. Tickell noted that the captives in Moulmein were 'much averse to taking our medicine,' and that Crusoe had threatened his Burmese guardian with a knife 'for trying to administer some nauseous dose.'[99] In his second narrative, Corbyn complained: 'Flannel and other clothing, which they might be supposed to care for, they not only do not appreciate, but tear to pieces and throw away.'[100] Blankets, too, had evidently met that fate in the hands of a people with no

appreciation of British ideas for staying healthy in the tropics,[101] and generated disturbing theories about the incompatibility of civilizing and sanitizing projects.[102] In the political-military climate of the 1860s, such ingratitude merged easily with treachery and insurgency, and it is not surprising that Ford, in mid-decade, associated aboriginal ill-health not only with disorder and disruption of labor but with a generalized resistance to white authority.[103]

Andamanese reactions were more nuanced, cautious and contextual than the notes of Tickell, Corbyn, Ford or Kinsey indicate. Day's lengthy memoir of his adventures in the Andamans reveals that 'sickly' aborigines had great faith in quinine and were not unwilling to take new medications offered by white doctors (like Day), provided the doctor ingested the drug first.[104] Homfray had made the same observation some years earlier.[105] During the aggressive deployment of epidemic medicine in the islands, prominent Andamanese became supporters (or became prominent as supporters) of government intervention, pursuing and 'bringing in' people who might be infected. These allies included Maia Biala, indicating how medicine provided aborigines with a platform on which they could negotiate a new status in the clearing. Biala, in fact, contracted measles and died in the process of bringing in the sick, and his death was 'severely felt' by Man.[106] He was, in that sense, not just a medical sepoy but a martyr whose help in producing patients for the regime merged politically with his help in catching runaway convicts. In death, he was transmuted into something approaching a hard-working, productive and useful subject, reflecting not just Man's sentimentality but a political choice on Biala's part. Other 'leading' aborigines adopted different stances vis-à-vis the state and the doctors; political power could flow from either cooperation or resistance, and both were produced by the crisis of the 1870s, in which the state competed with microbes for access to undiscovered bodies.

At no time did this medical intervention go beyond the sporadic and the limited. The attempts made, however, are significant in themselves. Foreshadowing the tactics of disease-control deployed in Maharashtra in the 1890s, the Port Blair regime pursued and detained aborigines without much interest in obtaining the latter's consent.[107] At the height of the measles outbreaks in 1877 and 1878, Man sailed up and down the coast on the appropriately named *HMS Rifleman* and *HMS Enterprise* with medicines, presents and a team of 'friendly' Andamanese, chasing the sick, taking them on board, and off-loading them at various camps.[108] In doing so, he may have contributed significantly to the spread of infection, and it is remarkable that he did not seem to recognize the risk. It is likely that any risk was secondary to his governing zeal. (He is entirely silent on the subject in his subsequently published writings.) Conveying savages around the islands and the empire

was one of the principal ways in which the colonial regime exhibited, performed and experienced its power, literally relocating subjects on its administrative map.

Like other pre-modern people confronted suddenly by the doctors of the modern state,[109] the Andamanese resisted, mainly by trying to avoid medical 'detection' and treatment, and running away from makeshift hospitals where they were kept under guard. This response, of course, portrayed the patient as a rebel, and for the regime, medical intervention became a metaphor of political control and governance. This is not to suggest that disease merely gave the regime excuses or options for governance. Disease was governance, i.e., constitutive of governmental activity. To produce the former was also to produce the latter.

The first energetic efforts in this direction were made when Man was in charge of the Homes. He aggressively sought out the infected by sending quasi-military expeditions to examine and confine newly discovered patients. In February 1877, he sent doctors and armed guards into remote parts of Great Andaman to find those infected with syphilis, and 'had these brought to hospital.'[110] From early 1877 onward, Andamanese who came to the Homes were regularly subjected to physical examinations, and those thought to be sick were detained. At the same time, expeditions were mounted to examine, discover and 'recall' aborigines who had recently been at the Homes and were suspected of carrying disease.[111] In his report in October 1876, Man was able to write: 'Information having reached me that several of the aborigines living near Middle Strait were suffering from Ophthalmia, I sent a large boat and brought in twenty-one men, women and children.'[112] These patients were then kept in a shed built specifically for them.[113] Other Andamanese at the Homes were singled out for medical attention if they tried to leave. In April 1876, Man wrote that he had 'discovered' and hospitalized a couple who were evidently syphilitic, and added:

> They had, like some of the others, been endeavoring to cure themselves, and had for that purpose left the Home to which they had been attached. I am now hopeful that I have succeeded in discovering and placing under medical treatment all those who have, in consequence of the lamentably lax state of their morals, contracted this fell disease.[114]

Man's remark is revealing from at least two perspectives. Disease was equated with moral weakness, and was thus brought into the legitimate jurisdiction of a quasi-penal regime. Moreover, medical intervention was seen as the sole prerogative of the state, and attempts by aborigines to 'cure themselves' became attacks on this monopoly. This was a shift within governance; self-treatment by the Andamanese had not always been viewed by Britons with such consternation. In 1861, Hellard had written

appreciatively about an episode in which a captive aborigine had treated an unwell fellow-prisoner:

> [T]hey were perfectly frantic, dancing and caressing the man who [had vomited]. Mr. Crusoe turned doctor, he got the sick man up, washed his back with cold water, and punctured it all over with a sharp piece of glass which appeared to relieve him vastly.[115]

Tickell also observed Crusoe administering to his comrades, and expressed a certain ambivalence about the ability of Western doctors to achieve the same results.[116] Homfray, likewise, had not been closed to Andamanese technologies that he admired but did not pretend to understand: not only medicine but also navigation and meteorology.[117] He wrote: ‘It is curious that the Andamanese seem to know twenty-four hours before that a person is going to die, by observing the nerves, muscles, and eyes; and if these are weak they at once give up all hopes.’[118] Quite apart from a residual diffidence within colonial medicine, this reflected a Romantic sensibility on Homfray’s part, and his awareness that he was engaged in a competitive magic and expertise in which the Andamanese retained considerable power to assess him.[119] At the same time, because the unfamiliar technology was obscure rather than legible, it reinforced rather than eroded Andamanese savagery. At the time of the epidemics, the diffidence and the Romanticism had both faded, evaporated not so much by discursive shifts within allopathic medicine as by the authoritative requirements of medically articulated counterinsurgency, complete with bizarre rhetorical slippages such as ‘house–to-house’ searches in a geography without houses.[120]

The detention of sick aborigines generated a complex system of hospitals and half-way ‘houses’ in the Andamans. Patients at the more virulent stages of infection were kept in the innermost circle of this infrastructure, heavily guarded and denied contact with the outside world. Convalescents inhabited an outer circle where isolation was less rigid, but where contact with non-patients was still controlled by convict orderlies, convict compounders, Dr. Gupta (who was much praised in British records for his courage and competence, and who seems to have shared the heroic outlook of his white colleagues in the epidemic zone[121]), and white physicians like Douglass and W.H. Rean. In February 1877, Barwell noted that a group of syphilitics had been released from the hospital on Viper Island and placed in such a convalescence hut, and that guards had been posted ‘to prevent any intercourse between them and the uninfected aborigines in the Viper Home or elsewhere.’[122]

Quarantine was not simply a matter of preventing ‘intercourse,’ of course. It was a strategy of access and normalized control, allowing properly

credentialed visitors to observe patients and theorize about their bodies, their society and the connections between the two. In 1861, Fytche, who was Tickell's direct superior in Burma, hosted 'Mr. Blythe of the Asiatic Society' who, like Fytche himself, was casting himself as an expert on the Andamanese.[123] Blythe was, in fact, interested in larger questions of savagery and race; he wanted to compare the captives with African patients he had observed elsewhere.[124] His conclusion that the Andamanese were not Negroes indicates how medical knowledge of colonized populations could be contingent on their captivity.[125] Such knowledge vindicated further aggressive deployments of state medicine. The report from a Home where Andamanese suffering from 'ulcers' were being held and studied in 1876 declares: 'It is at present believed that this sickness is merely due to a want to cleanliness on the part of the patients.'[126] The observation succinctly captures the self-perpetuating relationship between state intervention, medical knowledge and further state intervention. Inferior Others were discovered to be existentially unclean, and in the sanitary context of modernity, dirt is nothing short of power, generating an impulse to uncover, describe and coerce that is almost irresistible to the normatively clean.[127] Unclean aboriginal habits were again blamed, and warm baths prescribed, during a syphilis outbreak in 1877.[128] In the 1890s, even Portman blamed the spread of imported diseases among the Andamanese on 'their filthy habits, their custom of sleeping together in a heap . . . and their immorality.'[129]

The medical campaign against the Andamanese was an effort by the colonial state to extend its political authority at several connected levels. At one, military-style expeditions to capture and detain sick aborigines provided a self-legitimizing method of taking the power of the colony into the jungle and enclosing manageable areas of the jungle within the clearing. At another, compulsory medical treatment forced the Andamanese to acknowledge the authority of the regime. This acknowledgment should not be confused with acceptance of the ideological claims of modern medicine; there was no hegemonic state medicine in India (including the Andamans) in the late nineteenth century.[130] Medicine in the Andamans served to legitimize police action not to the Andamanese, but to the colonial authorities. It was enough that the Andamanese could read medicine as a shorthand for the regime's claims of sovereignty in the clearing and to some extent in the jungle. At a third level, the new medical posture of aborigines as patients altered the content of their savagery, and the relationship between the savage and the doctor. Patient-savages were no longer expected to cultivate crops, but they were, more than ever, protégés of the doctor and the state, who assessed their 'condition,' organized the terms of quarantine and convalescence, and stood watch at the bedside.

Extinction

During Man's (belatedly) controversial voyages in the *Enterprise* and the *Rifleman*, and Portman's own, separate explorations along the coast beginning in 1879, the British officers surveyed a landscape of devastation and depopulation. Contemporary estimates of depopulation – such as the 'half to two-thirds' figure that Portman provided – are unreliable. No systematic count predated the epidemics, villages and camps had been disrupted both by disease and by population flight, and Man and Portman relied mainly on casual observation.[131] Man related this vagueness to the inadequacy of British power before nature in the Andamans: the jungle was impenetrable to census-takers, he told the Anthropological Society in 1883, and Andamanese informers could not be trusted because they could not count.[132] Nevertheless, they and subsequent counters like Radcliffe-Brown (who tried to divine the numbers from the 1901 census and got results that are close to Portman's[133]) fell back upon the enumerative magic of colonialism[134] to produce clarity in the jungle, confirming the 'observation' that aborigines were indeed missing in large numbers. The observation was a major turning point in colonialism in the Andamans, because it consolidated the status of the islanders as a people on the verge of extinction, which informed the next phase of savagery and its management.

The clearing in the Andamans survived the explosion of disease. The abandoned Homes recovered, although their function as centers of civilizing labor was severely eroded. By the mid-1880s, the old projects of peasant-making and moral indoctrination – however limited and troubled those had been – had almost completely broken down. The Orphanage tried to inculcate the importance of sanitation and exercise, but this was an apologetic gesture: a mimesis of metropolitan and colonial-Indian pedagogy that can be traced back to Locke,[135] limited by what Cadell and Chard felt they could do with Andamanese children. Since it was impractical to make them workers or Christians, the thinking went, they might as well be clean.[136] In that climate of pessimism, the Homes survived because the jungle was also very badly affected, especially on Great Andaman. With the colony still closed to aborigines, the clearing formed a larger part of what remained of the Andamanese world. Britons in the islands, and Portman in particular, quickly concluded that it was only in these re-invented spaces that the Andamanese could be recovered and preserved for the empire, for science, for humanity, and of course for them. The Homes thus became simultaneously the sites of extinction and preservation.

The plethora of plagues 'detected' in the Andamans after 1876[137] reflects deep anxieties among Britons about governance in the savage encounter. Sickness could mark autonomous contact not only between aborigines and

convicts, but between the penal colony and the mainland, the island and the world. It functioned, in that sense, as a metaphor of corrupted innocence and punishment. It was simultaneously a sign of vitality (heroic governance), failure (it spread in spite of the colonizer's best efforts to control natives and native societies), and sin/guilt (the colonizer had visited it upon the innocent). Syphilis, in particular, became a metaphor not only of racial extinction but also of cultural, sexual and political perversion, in which the Andamanese had – with British complicity – taken on the habits of the wrong people, had sex with the wrong people, taken orders from the wrong people, and died out as a result. Portman observed about Homfray's regime in the clearing:

> The Andamanese used to bring in pan leaves, and jungle canes for the convict Parawallahs . . . who ordered them to do so. There can be no doubt that . . . the convicts had considerable power over the Andamanese . . . and ill-treatment of the men and intrigues with the women were common, resulting in the latter case in the introduction of syphilis among the race, an evil Mr. Homfray never seemed to have feared, or made any attempt to guard against. The Burmese convicts had by this time taught the Andamanese . . . tobacco smoking.[138]

Tobacco, it was believed, rendered the Andamanese sterile.[139] At other moments, Portman bemoaned the availability of alcohol, although there is little evidence of the widespread use of alcohol by aborigines during this period.

Intoxicants, like sex, are signifiers with multiple connections: to the nature of the savage, which is pristine but vulnerable to temptation and the loss of control (both self-control and control by the regime); to the body of the savage, which is also pristine but easily corrupted; to falling birth rates and extinction; and to governance in the clearing, which could either exploit these dynamics or inhibit them (by banning liquor sales, restricting the supply of tobacco, or preventing sex with convicts). The post-epidemic savage in the Andamans, accordingly, was a creature of salvage and expiation: salvaged from disaster and the clumsy zeal of civilizers, purified of moral, biological and political contamination, isolated from the corrupt, unclean, inexpert and racially unfit, and restored to a permanently endangered virginity.

The discourse of Andamanese extinction predates the medical disaster of the 1870s. It can be traced to Playfair's interest in skulls and bones during Mouat's expedition; phrenology was, among other things, a science of racial extinction.[140] Man, the first OC-Andamanese to have a self-conscious science fetish, was impatient to examine children at the Orphanage; he was 'anxious to study the Andamanese from a scientific point, and record what was known of this people and their customs before they became extinct.'[141] Given the low

survival rates of infants in the clearing, it made sense to assume that each generation might be the last. Already in the 1860s, there was considerable, albeit contested, talk of a condition of chronic decline. This discourse was implicitly critical of the impact of colonialism upon the islanders. Day, in 1869–1870, had attempted to establish a mathematical relationship between extinction, visits to the Home, and dietary experiments that Homfray had introduced, writing:

> As a race, those who are living in the vicinity of our Settlement are decreasing in number, few appear to live over forty years of age, scarcely any family number above two living children, and only one has three. From April 1868 to April 1869, thirty-eight deaths were reported, and only fourteen births, whilst during the four years only six infants have lived whose parents resided at the Homes; of monthly visitors only twelve; of the half-yearly ones some twenty; this is somewhat remarkable, with reference to . . . the effects of fish diet on the production of offspring, and the probable result of civilization on this savage race.[142]

In 1867, Homfray himself reflected about the North Andamanese that 'the race is gradually becoming extinct.'[143] He offered the curious explanation (based on the belief, rare by 1867, that the Andamanese were the descendants of shipwrecked African slaves) that since slavery had been abolished, Andamanese men could no longer find wives. He also noted, however, the frequency of deaths and the rarity of viable births at the Home, and speculated that the Andamanese might be 'in a more naturally healthy condition of body in their savage roving life in their native jungles.'[144] Coming from the 'pro-civilization' Homfray, this is a startling indictment of the clearing. It indicates that by the mid-1860s, the discourse of Andamanese extinction was already highly developed: simultaneously medical, historical, Romantic, museological-anthropological and political (owing to the issue of responsibility). Homfray had sought to contribute to each facet, and in the process acknowledged that colonial processes and especially the Homes had altered the living environment of the islands and damaged the islanders. It might be argued, in fact, that this was an implicit acknowledgment of the validity of the early 'ecological resistance' of the Andamanese.

The Homes were not seen exclusively as a destructive force, particularly by Homfray, who was, after all, in charge of the institution. At this point, the Homes were a correctible problem, and a medical-anthropological experiment in progress: an investigation into what might be a healthy location for aborigines, how much tobacco was too much for Andamanese bodies, and so on.[145] The occasionally evinced anxieties were certainly not enough to close the Homes or even to abandon the practice of enticing savages with tobacco.

Homfray and his superintending officers – Ford and then H. Man – were, not unreasonably, apprehensive that if they radically altered the premises of the clearing, especially the provision of the very 'gifts' (food, tobacco) that underlay their concerns, the Andamanese would simply stop coming.

Moreover, during this period, a discourse of imminent extinction could be used in support of civilizing projects. H. Man, for instance, believed that the evident poor health of the Andamanese in the clearing called for the recruitment of a 'medical missionary,' who might live in the new Andamanese Hospital in Port Mouat and persuade aborigines to moderate their savagely excessive consumption of tobacco and unfamiliar foods, exercise more and wear clothes. (Their nakedness, especially in the small world of Ross Island, was a source of anxiety to Man and his colleagues; not only did they believe that it predisposed the Andamanese to colds and infections, they found it 'unsightly,' unsettling and dangerous to white women who might see the naked men.[146]) Homfray and Man both connected the islanders' culture with medical afflictions and death, Homfray referring to aboriginal dancing as a 'stupid, unmeaning madness, whereby the Andamanese catch cold, overdo themselves, and are consequently knocked up with severe inflammation of the lungs which carries them off.'[147] Here, the Dionysian aspect of savagery – including the undisciplined body – became an internal mechanism of extinction and a plea for civilization.

Writing at the end of the century, Portman articulated his 'own' grand theory of Andamanese extinction. Centuries of isolation and the lack of 'fresh blood,' he wrote, had generated an endemic weakness. Nor was this unique to the Andamanese: 'The savage, far from being, as people often suppose, a robust man, is generally very delicate,' Portman declared.[148] Until the arrival of Britons and Indians, the Andamanese, with their lack of cultural, physiological and immunological defenses, had lived in an island bubble. Colonialism had burst the bubble:

> [The] Homes . . . were most deleterious, in them the Andamanese learnt to smoke, contracted new diseases, and were given new foods to which they were unaccustomed. Their customs and modes of life were also altered; well-meaning but mistaken persons were anxious that they should change their mode of life entirely, and settle down to agriculture. In their own jungles they were well sheltered from the cold winds and storms by the forests, in the depths of which little wind can penetrate; we dragged them out of these and made them live in open clearings at all times of the year. Further, the change of diet . . . appears to have rendered the men sterile, and the syphilis aiding, in the few instances in which children are born, they do not survive.[149]

Portman is ambiguous about whether this devastation was the inevitable result of colonization or the consequence of particularly obtuse policies. Above, he appears to blame Corbyn and Homfray for having failed to understand the nature of the savage. In an ironic commentary on 'experimental' colonialism,[150] however, Portman compared British intervention in the Andamans to a chemistry project that had not so much gone wrong as worked perfectly to produce unfortunate results:

> There is an old and well-known chemical experiment in which a warm concentrated solution of sulphate of soda is boiled in a glass tube drawn out at one end. While ebullition is proceeding freely, the tube is hermetically sealed, and by this means is exhausted of air. The solution when left to itself cools without the solid being precipitated, although the liquid is *supersaturated*. But if the end of the tube is broken off and air allowed to enter, crystallization immediately commences at the surface, and is quickly propagated through the whole length of the tube. The Andamanese race are like this solution. So long as they were left to themselves . . . they would continue to live; but when we came amongst them and admitted the air of the outside world, with consequent changes, to suit our necessities, not theirs, they lost their vitality, which was wholly dependent on being untouched, and the end of the race came.[151]

While Portman's analysis is clearly based on ideas that had already gained currency in the 1860s (and that were echoed by metropolitan contemporaries such as the amateur sociologist Benjamin Kidd[152]), the sickness of the 1870s had endowed him with a heavier stamp of authority – and greater conviction – than Homfray or Day had had at their disposal. Not only had the deaths furnished evidence of 'what could happen,' they had obliterated other possible trajectories of savage evolution. They had, moreover, added the scientific potency of germs to the mix of climate and culture. There was no longer room for doubt about the consequences of making savages do the work of civilization, and the doubters had been discredited. In this new discursive environment, the savage – who was now 'dying' even when healthy – had to be re-encapsulated in the bubble and selectively insulated from civilization. The new task of the colonizer in the clearing was to maintain, and to supervise, the repaired bubble while also maintaining the colony. 'Chemistry experiments' with the Andamanese could not be abandoned: to colonize was to experiment. A disinterest in experimenting and the lack of a language of experimentation was as much a feature of the savage as disinterest in work and private property. What was needed was a different set of experiments.

The deployment of the discourse of extinction could be highly coercive towards the Andamanese; indeed, it undergirded coercive governance when the idea of savage menace had lost its force. Post-epidemic governance was not a policy of 'leaving them alone.' It was, rather, a policy of enforcing specific new roles for aborigines. The runaway-hunting function of aboriginal labor was expanded, 'tame' Andamanese were increasingly drawn into counterinsurgency operations against the Onge and Jarawa, and new forms of savage work (such as the ritualistic manufacture of 'artifacts') were devised.[153] Yet it is apparent that Portman struggled to persuade the Andamanese to participate in this new savagery, and that he continued E. H. Man's policies of chasing, rounding up and incarcerating people believed to have syphilis, smallpox, and even the mumps.[154] In every confrontation, Portman cited the imminent demise of 'the race' as what made his task difficult as well as necessary.[155] Regarding a series of journeys within the archipelago in 1890 and 1891, he wrote:

> The influenza was still raging and many deaths had occurred. At Stewart's Sound, where, in 1880, fourteen canoe loads of people came off to me when I visited it, only about fourteen people remained alive. [At Interview Island] two of them fired at me, and . . . ran away into the jungle. One of them was brought back by some men of my own party . . . and he, on finding that he had to go back in the canoe, attacked me, biting one of my fingers to me bone, and, being much stronger than I, got me down on the ground with his foot on my chest and tried to cut my throat. He was tied up and put into the boat. I took some photographs of the scene, and then burnt the village down.[156]

From fourteen canoes to fourteen individuals: alongside other statistical incantations of death and survival generated by the medical crises,[157] this is the numerical poetry of extinction. Portman was able to use it to explain his Kurtz-like behavior. 'I am endeavouring to keep the race alive as long as possible,' he clarified,[158] and an impressed Government of India praised his efforts to 'prolong the existence of the race.'[159] Rather than saving convicts and shipwrecked sailors from the Andamanese, the objective of control was now to save the Andamanese from themselves, i.e., from germs, their own diseased, weak or weakened bodies, and their juvenile minds. This preservationist mode of governance was not devoid of an agenda of transformation (since it included an assumption that a measure of transformation was necessary to save the Andamanese), but the dominant assumption was that the Andamanese were to be saved *in spite of* and *with* their savagery, rather than *from* their savagery. The redefined heroism of the colonizer drew sustenance from this reorientation of the agenda of manipulation.

At the same time, the idea of extinction could generate leniency in governance. In 1894, a man named Chiro, who was believed to have killed another aborigine in a dispute over a dog, was sentenced by the Chief Commissioner to a short spell of detention at a Home, on the grounds that a longer imprisonment would kill him.[160] (He died quickly anyway.) Such leniency towards savage offenders was not new in the Andamans, but in the age of extinction it had acquired additional ideological moorings. This benevolence was the other face of the harshness of beatings and village-burnings; both reflected a powerful resuscitation of the Romantic in the savage encounter.

The extinction of the savage was itself a deeply Romantic idea. Seeing the savage as an ironic near-self became more feasible when the savage ceased to be a political-military challenge and was reduced to an object of pathos and nostalgia, mourned even before it had vanished. The post-1876 forays of Man, Cadell and Portman into the deserted jungle reflect another facet of this pathos. Disease had left behind an apocalyptic landscape for the colonizer to explore and chart; from this he collected and preserved human and anthropological debris. Romantic horror merged thrillingly with medical-scientific purpose. The 'last of his tribe' exclamations that punctuate these explorations (and that punctuate the larger narrative of colonialism from North America to Tasmania[161]) should be seen in the light of this romance in which the colonizer – who is already disturbed by the apparent transience of civilizations[162] – finds a dying fragment in a desolation that is both of his own making and accidental. In June of 1890, touring the coast during an outbreak of influenza, Portman discovered that Punga Karl, the 'last representative of the Rutland Island Sept,' had died.[163] Three years later, describing another death, he remarked that since the Andamanese knew 'how few of them were left,' they were particularly sad about each new casualty.[164] He assumed that the Andamanese shared both the British sense of the boundaries of their 'race' and the Romantic attitude towards racial extinction.

The intensification of the British engagement with the Jarawa and Onge after the 1870s is an aspect of this romance, because those tribes now took on the status of relics and survivors within the larger Andamanese population. Because of the peculiar processes of counterinsurgency and pursuit through which Jarawa identity was constructed, administrators of the 1880s were able to imagine the 'tribe' as an entity that had receded from the main body of the Andamanese and become invisible.[165] This invisibility was rendered more exciting – and the Jarawa are nothing if not exciting[166] – by the surrounding phenomenon of extinction, because the colonizer knew that unlike the visibly dead savage, the invisible savage was still around. As known savages died out, the Jarawa moved in literally and discursively to take their place.

(Portman is explicit about this, noting that the Jarawa were 'gradually occupying jungle which belonged to Septs . . . which are now extinct.'[167]) The Jarawa are, in that sense, by-products of the discourse of extinction: a pristine tribe awaiting discovery, and surviving representatives of the Andamanese as they once were.[168] At the same time, extrapolating from Colebrooke's writings of the 1790s, Portman speculated that the Jarawa might be infected with a mystery disease, which – like the Jarawa themselves – had been hiding in the jungle. This contradicts the 'pristine' vision of the Jarawa, but the two ideas – the pristine savage and the secretly infected savage – co-existed in the Romantic imagination of extinction, which was, after all, a facilitation of fantasy rather than the fixing of a single image.[169]

The British encounter with the Onge generated another duality. During the invasions of Little Andaman in the mid-1880s, it quickly became apparent that the Onge were not in fact untouched by germs or history. This discovery complicated the question of what neo-Romantic colonialism might do with 'sole survivors.' Portman wrote:

> The fact of syphilis being among them has to a certain extent modified our policy towards this tribe. Formerly our one object, after friendly relations had been established . . . was to prevent them from mixing with the convicts and other Andamanese, and contracting the disease, but now there is no objection to their going about the Great Andaman with the other tribes, and there will be no objection to our keeping parties of them up here all the year round. The use to which I propose to put them . . . is, to search for the Jarawas and endeavour to establish friendly relations with them; for, if that is ever done, it will . . . be done by the Onges.[170]

The diseased survivor was highly useful as an experimental subject because he was already dead. The Onge could therefore be taken to Port Blair, studied, utilized, and returned to Little Andaman in accordance with Portman's desires – including his desire to show them 'that we are the strongest race, and are to be obeyed.'[171] Portman imagines a tranquilized savage world in Little Andaman, where politics and history have ceased with the British conquest. Portman has come to the island to preside over, study, record and master a final stage that is both permanent and almost finished. At this stage, the entire past is contained in the present and open to Portman's 'experience.'[172]

The only historical crack still open is the approach of extinction. In the 1890s, when Portman's *magnum opus* was taking shape, many of the ex-captive 'friends' he had cultivated in Little Andaman were dead; the shadow of Andamanese disappearance had fallen on the Onge. Portman, like Man, was silent about his own responsibility for having infected them: a silence that

reveals his assumptions about class, race, sex and cleanliness, which held upper-class white males to be both clean and sexually restrained, and thus to pose no medical threat to savages. Like surgeons behind masks or technicians in sterile suits, Portman and his colleagues could assemble, study and use the dying savage, even be horrified, thrilled or saddened, without implicating themselves in the death.

The discourse of extinction provided Britons with a theory of savage behavior. The Andamanese, Portman suggested as he looked back magisterially at the history of civilization and disease in the islands, had become hostile and treacherous only when their political and military confidence had been broken; they had then been reduced to timidity, cowardice and dependence upon the Homes.[173] Simultaneously with W. H. R. Rivers, he argued that extinction was not only the result of aboriginal demoralization, it was a cause.[174] Portman came close to a view that the Andamanese, when politically, militarily and demographically intact, were morally a different breed of savage: not necessarily noble, but innocent nevertheless. This is a direct rebuttal of the idea of the naturally treacherous, bloodthirsty savage that pervades the pre-epidemic narratives. In the process of historicizing treachery, Portman had established a trajectory with two lines of interrelated moral and political attributes: on the one hand, independence, insubordination, strength and innocence, and on the other hand, dependence, subordination, weakness and treachery. This is a counterintuitive position for a colonizer to take, but it was made possible by the transformation of the Andamanese from governmental problems into Romantic relics.

Conclusion

British officers surveying the Andamanese coast during the medical crisis of the late 1870s and early 1880s relied frequently on a particular image to describe the devastation they perceived. This was the image of the deserted aboriginal village in which the people had vanished, and where the visitors themselves barely existed. In some ways, the image and the dreamlike narrative mode are similar to a practice that Pratt has noted in European travel writing: seeing and describing landscape in a manner that renders it vacant and inviting for would-be colonizers and properly exploited native labor.[175] In the Andamans, where colonizers did not consistently imagine themselves as being in the vanguard of settlers, the reveries of Man and Portman are misleading. Here, the emptied landscape was a sign of the impossibility of civilization and labor, of sickness and death, and of a not altogether unpleasant turning-inward of the explorer's imagination.

Idleness and sickness were basic, and closely connected, components of savagery in the islands. Given the centrality of 'work' to the British-colonial

understanding of a civilized relationship between society, nature and government, it is not surprising that early efforts to civilize the Andamanese were heavily reliant on their employment as cultivators, servants and laborers. Yet the project was undermined by chronic anxieties and hesitations: anxieties about the place of aboriginal servants in civilized households, the location of aboriginal laborers among Indian convicts, the limited ability of the regime to confront the resistance of reluctant workers, and above all, by sickness. The savage body that emerged from this tangle was found to be medically unfit for work, and, by extension, medically unfit for civilization.

The discovery of measles, syphilis, influenza and other diseases in the aboriginal population confirmed this diagnosis, with two seemingly contradictory effects. It provided the government with powerful new rationales and tools for coercive intervention in aboriginal society. At the same time, it almost entirely silenced the rhetoric of civilizing the Andamanese through work. Coercion and governance were henceforth aimed at preserving the Andamanese as savages defined by frailty and imminent extinction. A utilitarian application of medicine had, ironically, produced a thoroughly Romantic savage encounter for colonizers who self-consciously abjured the civilizing agenda but not the agendas of dominance and control. From their perspective, syphilis and depopulation were nothing less than the implosion of Edenic innocence: a convulsion of nature, fate and moral judgment. This Fall did not lead to labor and civilization; it led, instead, to extinction. (When British control was lost, it led to 'bad character.' Of the two alternatives, the latter was infinitely preferable to administrators of Portman's generation.) The co-existence of the idyllic and the fallen – which appears to have placed the British, by historical accident, at the precise moment of a Fall – was a large part of the pleasure of the savage encounter. The Andamanese were imagined as victims of history itself, rather than of specific agents, because the same encounter that produced them as savage would also inevitably kill them.

5 Another jungle

Natives and savages

Now whenever one meets them in the jungle they are polite and hospitable.
Jafar Thanesari, c. 1883

In March 1862, J. C. Haughton 'discovered' an island at the entrance to the Middle Straits. He soon found, however, that the island was frequented by Malay collectors of birds' nests, runaway convicts and aborigines, none of whom paid the slightest attention to him. This, in other words, was one of the 'secret camps' that fascinated Britons in the Andamans. As such, it could be imagined but not acknowledged, and Haughton left the area at once. The unnamed and unmarked island was literally forgotten by the British in Port Blair until 1883, when it was 'rediscovered.' It was then retroactively connected in the history of the colony to Haughton's explorations, given a name (Spike Island) and located at the mouth of another new feature in the map of the colony: Kwang Tung Harbour, named after the settlement's expeditionary steamer.[1] Evidently, the world-making function of counter-insurgency and discovery broke down when the regime could not control or interpret the interaction of natives and savages, and could resume only when confidence was restored.

British encounters with the Andamanese proceeded alongside a parallel colonial episode: the encounter between aborigines and the convicts who came from India and Burma. In a penal colony of several thousand prisoners, the native encounter was not without considerable autonomy. White mediators of savagery could not mediate whenever self-supporters confronted aborigines demanding bananas, convict officers sodomized or impregnated the Andamanese at the Homes, or runaways met aborigines in the jungle. Indians encountered the Andamanese in overlapping roles: as prisoners of the Raj, as sepoys, and as settlers in their own right. In each of these capacities, they approached aborigines with their own political and cultural lenses and their own agendas of power, interpretation and pleasure. The lenses and

agendas were, of course, only partially autonomous, because the niches that Indians occupied in the Andamans were all colonial: even more than on the mainland, they existed with (imperfect) reference to British demands on occupation, spatial distribution, political status and vocabulary. Autonomy lay in the imperfections, i.e., the unpoliced spaces within and beyond the normative locations of non-Europeans in the colony.

There was in the Andamans a plethora of unstable subgroups within the officially recognized and racially organized blocs: tamed and untamed savages, males and females, self-supporters and chain-gang prisoners, literate and illiterate Indians, not to mention elite and subaltern whites. Such heterogeneity in a society, Kumkum Sangari writes, 'is the restless product of . . . miscegenation, assimilation, and syncretization *as well as* of conflict, contradiction, and cultural violence.'[2] The niche that Indians and Andamanese occupied in any given context directed their vision of other compartments, and they did not approach each other exclusively as 'Indians' or 'Andamanese.' Those categories were more consistently meaningful to Britons than to their subjects, who learned and revised their assigned identities in the process of their colonial experience. The contours and content of what they learned were only sporadically under British control, and illicit knowledge informed shadow identities in which official categories of 'savage' and 'criminal' were not so much irrelevant as differently meaningful. These differences determined not only the micropolitics of life in the colony, the clearing and the jungle, but the future of the savage in the Andamans.

For Indians criminalized and punished by the colonial regime of the mainland, Britons and British authority came with a familiarity that was both oppressive and reassuring. But the Andamanese also became familiar to them in the course of their punishment, and even unfamiliarity was charged with social and political possibilities. Because savagery normatively existed outside the colony, the savage personified the limits of British power. Convicts looked to Britons for protection and patronage, they feared and killed the Andamanese, but they also looked to aborigines for shelter from the punishing colony. Sepoys – which many convicts in the Andamans had been before they became prisoners, and a role to which many reverted in the islands – were not 'mercenaries' engaged in a simple, rational exchange of a body for a wage; their motivations for service had identifiable moorings in notions of honor and regional traditions of patronage.[3] Nevertheless, sepoys are not 'one' with the regime they serve, and armed convicts were at a double ideological remove from white commander-jailors. They fought for the regime and occasionally shared its priorities, but they also fought for themselves, and they fought their own savages, which often remained invisible or incredible to Britons in the islands.

In a settler colony, Wolfe writes, the native is superfluous.[4] That assertion presumes a settler identity with a stable racial core in the modern European mold, i.e., whiteness. For Indian convict-settlers, aborigines were competitors for space in the jungle and a menace to boot. They were also inferior in particular contexts, such as sex: whereas male convicts had sexual access to female and male aborigines, Andamanese men lacked access to convict women.[5] Yet even this formulation of 'sexual gain' tended to break down; certainly, by the end of the nineteenth century, there was a population in the islands to which concepts of purity and aboriginality did not apply.[6] The Indian notion of the *junglee* was not insulated from British ideas of race and savagery, but it was not identical and did not carry the same proscriptions and permissions.[7] The boundary between the peasant and tribal worlds of India is not so much a line as a zone, subject to fluctuation and political contestation.[8] In the fluidity of convict society in the Andamans, where boundaries of caste and religion were subject to accelerated experimentation and adjustment,[9] the line between brown and black – which was central to the normative British imagination of the colony – could not be taken for granted. When Indians encountered aborigines in the clearing and the result was syphilis and 'mixed' babies, it underlined the limits of British power, not unlike secret islands where savages and natives congregated.

The Andamanese themselves maneuvered between licit and illicit relationships with convicts, adopting contingent positions of alliance and animosity, intimacy and distance. Aborigines killed convicts in the jungle and captured runaways in exchange for rewards from the regime, but they also appeared to distinguish between the agents and the victims of the penal colony, attacking the former and helping the latter. They were both discriminating and random, and this simultaneity – while consistent with the 'treachery' of savages – rendered them inscrutable and incoherent as a colonized population. Not surprisingly, Britons in the Andamans saw autonomous relations between convicts and aborigines as an ideological and political threat that had to be managed rhetorically when it could not be defeated. It was not just a problem of 'security,' but a threat to the very idea of aboriginality that undergirded order in the islands. For convicts and aborigines, however, such relations were essential to resistance, survival and escape.

Dudhnath Tewari's excellent adventure

On April 23, 1858, Dudhnath Tewari, Life Convict 276 – a sepoy from the 14th Regiment of the Native Infantry, convicted of mutiny and desertion and sentenced to hard labor in transportation – escaped from his guards not long after having arrived in the Andamans from Karachi. Just over a year later, he

reappeared in Port Blair and warned the superintendent about an imminent attack on the settlement by aborigines. The warning allowed Walker to organize an effective defense (complete with naval shelling) in what became known as the 'Battle of Aberdeen' in May 1859. Tewari was rewarded with a pardon and briefly became a minor celebrity. A version of his report to Walker was published in 1860 in *Chambers' Journal*.[10] It was not received without skepticism,[11] but even Portman – who noted 'inaccuracies' in the account – acknowledged grudgingly that Tewari was 'not nearly such a liar as he was supposed to have been.'[12] Tewari's overlapping reputations as hero, liar and reliable source of knowledge were grounded not just in his status as a loyal informant who saved the colony from the savages, but also in what he did in the year when he went missing from the colony. In that year, he had gone where no Indian – or Briton, which was entirely significant – had apparently gone before: into the heart of darkness, to live among the Andamanese on terms of astonishing intimacy.

Tewari escaped from Ross Island with ninety-odd convicts. In the story he told Walker, they were joined by forty others who had run away from convict stations at Chatham and Phoenix Bay. Mass escapes were common in the early years of the penal colony, when life was very harsh for newly arrived convicts and mechanisms of prevention and deterrence were underdeveloped.[13] For weeks, the escapees hacked their way through the jungle, searching for Burma. They began to drop from hunger and thirst, and were then decimated and dispersed by aboriginal attacks. Tewari was injured but his life was spared after much begging and pleading; his Andamanese captors treated his wounds with medicinal mud and took him along on a walkabout through Great Andaman and its surrounding islands. In the course of this epic journey to nowhere in particular, Tewari told Walker, he saw no fewer than 15,000 Andamanese. Eventually, his captors became less suspicious of him, and an 'elder' named Pooteah found him two 'wives': a 20-year-old named Lipa or Hessa (Pooteah's daughter), and a younger girl named Jigah. He witnessed other weddings and noted ruefully that they were all more elaborate than his own. Andamanese wives were attentive to their husbands, he decided, but not as attentive as Bengali wives.[14] He observed how aborigines hunted, fished, manufactured tools, gave birth and scarified their skin. He noted that they were not cannibals, that they were nomadic, that they all belonged to a single tribe and spoke the same language, which he was able to learn. Consequently, he became aware of their plan to attack Aberdeen. So he fled, leaving a pregnant Lipa behind, running out of the jungle this time, and found his way back to civilization as a born-again sepoy.[15] He has, logically enough, become a 'traitor' in Indian-nationalist narratives, and was recently accused of contributing to Andamanese extinction.[16]

Tewari is in some ways one of the first anthropologists of the Andamanese, but as Portman's half-amused, half-exasperated acceptance of the narrative indicates, he could not be accepted as such by contemporary Britons. He was ultimately a silly native who (like that other boundary-jumper, Elwin) had 'married his fieldwork,'[17] and who had wanted a full-fledged wedding in the jungle but not hesitated to abandon his wives. His observations were not ethnology; they were ethnological data once they had been prodded with leading questions and filtered and embellished by editors.[18] In spite of (and because of) his willingness to compare Andamanese and 'Bengali' wives, he was himself an object of ethnology. He was, simultaneously, a myth and a monster authored by others. Mouat, who compared Tewari with Munchausen to cast aspersions on his story, nevertheless remarked that it would be 'amusing to see the offspring of the giant Brahmin and the tiny Mincopie.'[19] Partially anticipating Portman's belief that children of Andamanese mothers and convict fathers were 'interesting scientifically,'[20] Mouat's comment indicates that the pleasure of the fantasy-savage could be recuperated in the science of convict-aborigine encounters, requiring that such encounters be appropriated by fantasists and scientists.

Yet if we cut Walker, Mouat, Munchausen and Portman out of the picture, there is still something left of Tewari. Once with the Andamanese, Tewari goes native physically: he 'dresses' like them, eats like them, reproduces with them. At the same time, he retains an outsider's perspective that can be separated from British perspectives. He is not Portman, not Kurtz, or even Kim. He resembles fictitious and autobiographical 'beachcombers' (including maroons and escapees) who sought and failed to establish relations of reciprocity with island natives,[21] but he is himself a native. He is a convict who is highly conscious that he has left the colony behind, and who constantly compares the colony and the jungle. He notices not only that his Andamanese captors, like his British captors, deny him access to weapons, but that unlike Britons they do not force him to work. He understands that a new social and categorical possibility has opened up for him: like the British in Port Blair, the Andamanese see marriage as a way of stabilizing the disorderly,[22] but the women they offer Tewari are their own daughters; they seek to transform captivity into adoption by integrating him into their society much more closely than Britons were willing to contemplate. He is not entirely resistant but neither is he absorbed: he calculates his political odds, gambles and wins. He forms his own ideas of what British interrogators will want to hear, what will titillate them, what numbers will impress them. His convict self, with its convict eye – informed by British, north-Indian-Brahmin and Andamanese inputs – has a tenacious reality of its own, which sees and configures savagery and colonialism for its own purposes, and which compels British listeners and readers into compensatory acts of management.

Tewari was only one of many convicts who lived among the islanders in the history of the second settlement. His story is the first, and most detailed, of a particular genre of texts from the colonial Andamans: the 'captivity' narrative of the convict among savages. Nearly all such narratives are mediated through Britons: typically, convicts who had escaped into the jungle or been captured by aborigines would return to tell their tales of life among the savages, for British administrators and story-tellers to rephrase. The lack of unambiguous authorship allows us to glimpse how the 'same' experience of savagery could serve multiple agendas simultaneously. These partial, temporary integrations of Indian escapees into the aboriginal world might be seen as counterparts of the clearing, in which the edge of a society functioned as a resource, an experimental space, an instrument of power and, inevitably, as a problem of colonial governance.

In the early 1860s, it was not uncommon for Corbyn to come across groups of 'double fugitives' wandering in the jungle. Apparently on the run from aborigines as well as guards, these Indians typically told him stories about indignities inflicted upon them by the Andamanese:

> I have heard natives describe and admit their dismay and terror in . . . these encounters with the savages. Some of them were once working in the woods near Haddo, when they were suddenly confronted by two Andamanese with bows and arrows . . . At the sight of the hatchets in the hands of the convicts they danced and laughed exultingly. The convicts, afraid to run, fell at full length on the ground, and clasped the feet of the savages imploring mercy, and crying to their 'Ram,' 'Ram;' the savages imitated even their prostrate and supplicating postures and *congee*, and reflected with painful and cruel accuracy their affrighted and deprecating gestures; and when their love of mimicry was satiated, and they had danced and laughed and slapped their shaking sides till they were exhausted they seized the coveted hatchets, seem [*sic*] to hesitate whether they should discharge their arrows or inflict some corporal incision; but on better thought desisted, and then went away shouting 'Ram,' 'Ram,' and describing to each other the consternation of the poor convicts.[23]

Confronted with a disturbing tale, Corbyn seeks to restore order by displacing on to natives his discomfort with Andamanese mimicry and his disdain for native religion. It is, of course, possible that the Andamanese were entertained by the convicts' terror and out-of-place-ness in the jungle, although their major interest would have been in the hatchets. The convicts themselves were presumably too preoccupied with negotiating survival to be bothered by

mimicry, but they understood the value of a narrative of savagery that would strike a chord with their white listener.

The native encounter, related to and then by the sahib, had thus produced a problem and a solution: unfamiliarity had been rendered familiar. Another convict told Corbyn that he – a 'strict Muslim' – had been forced to eat pork by aborigines who threw rocks at him when he resisted.[24] Others announced that the Andamanese had forced them to hunt and kept them hard at work, laughing at their exhaustion.[25] It is highly unlikely that the Andamanese would know and care about convicts' religious taboos, but the reluctant pork-eater understood that Britons knew and cared about such things. While aborigines may have brutalized their captives on occasion, it is unlikely that they would put any faith in the convicts' ability to hunt wild pigs, or make them slave. Forced labor was a feature of the colony, not the savage world, but that is precisely why convicts may have told that particular tale: it was a familiar horror that stood to earn sympathy and forgiveness in the colony, and not just with Corbyn and Ford. In the aftermath of the Mutiny, the significance of religious desecration would have been inescapable to convicts in the Andamans, including the desecrated/escapee himself, producing a threat, an excuse, an explanation and a means of survival. Thus, unsettling transactions of aborigines feeding starving runaways with transforming foods, or convicts 'working' among the Andamanese, were repackaged as a savagery based on forms of violence that already possessed a colonial pedigree. It does not matter whether the pork-eater, his friends and Corbyn actually 'believed' the story, or how strongly they believed it. Corbyn appears to swallow the story, but that is an effect of governance.[26] What matters is that they agreed to agree upon it.

Captivity narratives such as those described above, not to mention narratives that never reached British ears, were informed by a broader set of jungle myths that permeated convict society in the Andamans. In the early years of the second settlement, convicts insisted that Great Andaman was connected by land to India or Burma; Tewari and other escapees went through the motions of searching for this route that led through the jungle to a world beyond the colony.[27] Some convicts informed each other, and ultimately their jailors, that a powerful king ruled a hidden kingdom on the other side of the obscuring wall of trees; others placed this kingdom in the Cocos Islands.[28] Sometimes the kingdom was conflated with Burma; at other times it was a separate magnet for escapees who, having once been sepoys, declared that they wanted to 'take up service' with the unseen king.[29] Convicts thus had their own geography of the Andamans, with its own 'tracks' in the jungle leading to destinations and historical outcomes that were distinct from the roads and sightlines of the British imagination. Carter has observed, in the Australian context, that convicts borrowed their jailors' visions of

inside/outside to construct their fantasies of escape, and that these apparently irrational fantasies (of roads to China or Botany Bay) engaged and subverted the logic of the penal colony.[30] In the Andamans, convicts usurped the geographical infrastructure of their punishment: by the early 1880s, administrators worried that the expanding network of roads was not under their control, and that convicts walked out of the colony and into the jungle using the colony's own tracks.[31] When Walker, Tytler and Corbyn sought to 'defeat' the aborigines and assert some control over the fantasy of escape (they could hardly control the escapees themselves), they also sought to defeat this alternative jungle and its horizon.

The convicts understood that this parallel jungle made sense only when it was full of savages. Tewari's double escape and subsequent pardon generated a small flurry of episodes in which returned runaways warned Port Blair about impending attacks by aboriginal armies: in the summer of 1859, a convict named Boorhana told Walker a story very similar to Tewari's, except that the force poised for 'imminent' attack on Ross Island was given as 500 canoes and 1000 aborigines.[32] The Andamanese may not have been able to 'count beyond two,'[33] but that only indicated the importance of numbers to the political community of civilization, and the convicts knew it. Just as the Port Blair regime had an interest in constructing an ambiguously cannibalistic savage that would deter escape attempts, convicts discovered the savage as a military menace that might balance the power of the colony, generate political rewards and produce the pleasure of frightening the jailors. This was, in a sense, the cultivation of a particular mode of settler-colonial paranoia that could speak to (and manipulate) the anxieties of Britons like Walker, who behaved as if they stood between besieged colony and besieging jungle.

Like the alternative jungle, the alternative savage was a metaphor not only of menace, but of shelter. The internal chatter of convict society that seeped into the colonial archive is full of references to secret villages inhabited by mixed communities of aborigines, runaways and maroons.[34] Corbyn heard about sick and exhausted escapees taken by angelic aborigines to a huge camp in the recesses of northern Great Andaman, fed, medically treated, and then literally carried out of the jungle.[35] Boorhana told Walker about two dozen Indian and Afghan pilgrims, rescued by the Andamanese from a Turkish lifeboat, living with aborigines on Rutland Island.[36] Unable to dismiss the story, Walker professed his inability to react: he lacked the resources for a military operation. Decades after the incident, Portman sought to reassert a shaken order by declaring that the story was obviously false, and that the Andamanese had assured him – retrospectively and within the intimacy of their peculiar relationship – that they would have 'massacred' any Indians in that situation.[37] He conceded, however, that the Andamanese had occasionally

sheltered runaways 'for a very short time,' and may have wanted to 'make common cause' with them against the British.[38]

Walker's half-believing paralysis and Portman's fear of a 'common cause' underline the value of the story to the convicts. Stories about Indians living among the Andamanese represent alternative social-racial orders that are within the geography of British colonialism and yet outside British authority. These villages and camps are the mirror images of the secret camps of Corbyn's obsession, or experiments in which the premises and procedures have not been determined by Britons. The jungle is a transforming space and an engine of unofficial identities, and not for Europeans alone: here, runaways pretend to be self-supporters, Indians fade contingently into the aboriginal world, Bhils assert themselves as Rajputs.[39] The Andamanese, who are 'known' to Britons as indiscriminate killers of the civilized and the scourge of the shipwrecked, make alarming appearances as rescuers and friends of Indians, who, moreover, have arrived on a Turkish vessel. Such discriminating savages, narrated by other discriminating natives, manipulate individual colonizers and subvert the values attached by the regime to race, savagery and experimentation.

Broadly speaking, British administrators in the second settlement – including men as ideologically different as Walker and Portman – were committed to a vision of permanent race war in the Andamans. They believed that 'the Andamanese' would inevitably clash with 'the Indians,' and that Britons must manage the conflict, aligning strategically with one group or the other. The major difference between Walker and Portman on this issue is that Walker tended to align himself with Indians and Portman with the Andamanese. Otherwise, they shared an administrative outlook derived not only from colonialism in India, with its emphasis on the management of mutually hostile social compartments,[40] but from precarious oppositions between savagery, an inferior (inexpert, unenlightened, criminalized, non-white) civilization, and a dominant civilization that monopolized the ability to strategize. It did not dismiss cooperation between convicts and aborigines, but restricted that possibility to the tame worlds of the penal colony and the clearing. The jungle, from this perspective, was wild not only because it was unsupervised and antithetical to the possibility of natives of different stripes working peacefully together, but because sometimes they did in fact work (and eat, reproduce and strategize) together, and lost their stripes in the process.

What was worse was that the jungle refused to remain at a distance, safely isolated behind a frontier. Mixed societies and 'common cause' could spring up around convicts even without the context of secret villages and hidden kingdoms. In April 1859, when aborigines took over a convict station for several hours, the prisoners immediately put down their tools and joined them

in a dance, arms interlinked, stamping their feet. When confronted by Walker, the convicts insisted that they had danced under coercion.[41] Was this an attack on the convicts, as Walker reported to Calcutta, or a brief act of liberation? Parties engaged in counterinsurgency operations often came across convicts' clothes in the possession of the Andamanese:[42] did these signify murder or fellowship, and which was less desirable when either might indicate British weakness? In the incident in which prisoners danced with aborigines, the Andamanese killed or injured nine convicts, but they also selected the only twelve prisoners (out of 446 convicts at that station) who were in fetters, removed the chains, and took the men away into the deep jungle to join the counter-colony of 'secret camps.'[43]

The colonial government understood that it was powerless to pre-empt the irruption of these camps, and sought to come to terms with them. Haughton was instructed by the Home Department in 1860 that 'convicts who have . . . lived with the aborigines, may be made the means of opening a more friendly intercourse with them.'[44] By adopting this position, the regime affected its authority over processes – escape and return – that otherwise indicated its limitations. It insisted, in other words, on the prerogative of concession by conceding to savagery patches of space in the jungle, and giving up considerable power to the convicts. That the concession itself could be used against the regime is evident in the phony warnings against aboriginal attack and the greater frequency of escape attempts.[45] The fragmentation of the savage in the jungle thus enabled the 'friendly intercourse' that the Home Department chose to interpret as a sign of successful governance, and Portman associated with the ineptitude of colonial rule.

It is tempting, in the light of the evidence of 'fellowship' in the jungle, to see convict–aboriginal relations as the solidarity of two colonized populations. It would not be a wild leap: Britons who sought to depoliticize the jungle (by insisting, for instance, that convicts danced with aborigines only because the latter were terrifying savages) did so precisely because they saw a 'common cause.' They knew that the Andamanese often appeared to rescue or liberate Indian convicts, and that aborigines shot guards but spared chained prisoners so frequently that guards refused to display badges or other signs of authority.[46] Nor would such solidarity be unique in the history of penal colonies established among aborigines: Bullard has argued that there was considerable sympathy among French deportees in New Caledonia towards Kanak insurgents.[47]

Such possibilities must, however, be treated with skepticism in the Andamans. There was little consistency in the Andamanese treatment of convicts and guards, not least because the political distinction between 'convict' and 'guard' was not always obvious in an environment where guards were also convicts, and those in the vanguard of forest-clearing and settlement

were also natives, prisoners and colonial subjects. Neither convicts nor their jailors had a fixed vision of the political identity of Indians in the islands, and aborigines could not read this identity predictably. In addition, by the mid-1860s, sections of the Andamanese had been drawn into the role of a jungle police, and that role was increasingly central to their status as 'tame' or 'friendly.' While those aborigines were seldom rigid in their 'friendliness,' convicts contemplating escape could take nothing for granted.

Moreover, while the first generation of prisoners in the second settlement were connected to the Mutiny and might be expected to be predisposed towards organized anti-colonial politics, many were 'mutineers' only in the sense that they had been caught in the net of Mutiny-era law-enforcement.[48] Some, like Maulana Thanesari, a Wahhabi prisoner in the islands between the 1860s and 1880s,[49] became radicalized in the course of their punishment and came to imagine startling new political bonds between themselves and their fellow convicts.[50] But literate convicts like Thanesari also internalized to a considerable degree the colonial-ethnological vision of Andamanese savagery, and excluded aborigines from their anti-colonial community.[51] 'Common cause,' when it is evident, came from the commoner prisoners. Like Tewari's year-long membership in aboriginal society, it was highly contextual: the limited response of careful settlers negotiating between the secret camps of the jungle and the official world of Port Blair, seeking to manipulate both and identifying consistently with neither.

The obvious fly in the ointment of solidarity is, of course, the fact that convicts and aborigines attacked and killed each other energetically. More commonly than Britons, convicts experienced the jungle as a murderous environment. For escaped prisoners, the horror of the savage would have been inseparable from the horror of survival in the jungle, tormented by pursuit, hunger, thirst, exhaustion, malaria, leeches and gangrene. This was balanced, but also informed and exacerbated, by the horror of the penal colony itself, with its executions, fetters and floggings, and the psychological effects of 'transportation for life.'[52] Convicts themselves were often the aggressors: the colony's chronic counterinsurgency offered prisoners excellent opportunities to demonstrate their loyalty and utility, to take on positions of authority and relative freedom, and to locate themselves decisively above aborigines (friendly as well as unfriendly) in the hierarchy of the colony. A convict named Goodur received a pardon for his role in a skirmish with the Onge during Wimberley's raid on Little Andaman in 1873.[53] In spite of Portman's mistrust of Indians, convicts were heavily involved in his war against the Jarawa. His orderly, a Pathan named Amirullah, saved the life of an officer named Lt. Hooper during a raid on North Sentinel Island in 1880 by jumping on a 'Jarawa' just as the man was about to shoot Hooper.[54] Also that year, a convict named Nureddin earned

Portman's praise by volunteering to lead patrols against the Jarawa around Constance Bay and bringing in captives, who had, it seems, remained invisible in the immediate vicinity of Portman's camp.[55]

In some contexts, therefore, the violence of the convicts was affiliated with British perceptions, policies and conduct. There is an obvious alignment between the spectacle of Cadell firing his gun in the air to frighten the Onge and amuse himself, and an incident in which runaway convicts 'aimed' sticks at the Andamanese and made shooting sounds.[56] When it came to pantomiming modern warfare, Indian convicts and British jailors shared – up to a point – certain notions of the theatrics of technology and encountered the same naïve savage. This made it feasible, even plausible, for administrators to represent convicts as 'us' and the savage encounter as a shared, British-Indian, settler-colonial experience. After the killing of Pratt in 1863, Tytler provided convicts with muskets.[57] Indeed, the arming of convicts, effectively transforming them into soldiers of civilization and teachers of the notions of property and territoriality that undergirded their own punishment,[58] may be seen as an attempt by the Port Blair regime to discipline the ambiguous and fluid political alignments of the years when Tewari, Boorhana and others had switched 'sides' with apparent ease.

The regime's attempts to organize aborigines into a jungle police should be seen in a similar light. 'Runaway-hunting' was a falsely specific concept: it was an attempt by British officials to give an identifiable political shape to a diversity of clashes between convicts and aborigines after the mid-1860s. The development by no means indicated a 'changing of sides' on the part of the Andamanese. Aborigines continued to harass and injure convicts working in the jungle; these incidents were, from the perspective of Homfray and Ford, attacks on the colony.[59] 'Friendly' aborigines were reluctant to pursue runaway convicts everywhere in the jungle and tried to assert their own geographical priorities; Homfray was told that Rutland Island was home to a 'hostile tribe' (which Portman identified retrospectively as the Jarawa), indicating how the internal politics of the Andamanese world could impact on the British ability to organize clashes between convicts and aborigines.[60] Clearly, only some sections of the Andamanese were going after convicts or reporting sightings of escapees, and they were doing so inconsistently. While aborigines were not blind to the political significance of convicts in different circumstances, they were often indifferent to the distinction that mattered most to Port Blair, namely the distinction between those who had 'run away' and those who had not.[61]

It is possible to identify multiple, overlapping types of runaway-catching: freelancing by the Andamanese, freelancing by convict officers attached to the Homes, and operations directly organized by Britons.[62] None of these amounted to a declaration of permanent political allegiance or identity. It is

all too obvious that much of the time, Andamanese who agreed to serve as jungle police were bargaining with convict officers and OC-Andamanese for the material rewards (food, tobacco, iron tools, money) and prestige that could be had from reporting, inventing or imagining a 'runaway.'[63] This bargaining is inseparable from independent motives: when two Sindhi escapees named Sheikhu and Wadhu were attacked and killed by aborigines in 1883, it remained unclear whether the killers were retaliating for the theft of their canoe by the Sindhis, or pursuing a Rs. 50 reward offered by the regime for the capture of each man.[64] Such subtleties were beyond the linguistic and interpretive abilities of the superintendent.

Regardless of whether it was money or revenge, the incitement to hunt runaways clearly gave the Andamanese power over convicts that went beyond what Port Blair had intended. Aborigines tended to become 'runaway hunters' whenever convicts carried what the Andamanese wanted: axes and chains (the aboriginal habit of liberating chained prisoners may indicate a greater interest in the chains than the prisoners), metal identification tags and, less comprehensibly, the ceremonial threads of Brahmins.[65] On at least one occasion, convicts were deprived of their precious brass pots.[66] Self-supporters in remote villages received unwelcome and sometimes deadly attention from aborigines (typically classified as Jarawa by the officer interpreting the incident) demanding food.[67] Self-supporters retaliated by misleading aborigines hunting for convicts and, of course, by contributing to the narrative of the verminous Jarawa.[68]

Whether or not they were running away, convicts on the edge of the jungle were a resource for those who lived in the jungle, much as the aboriginal world was a resource for convicts. That in itself was a major cause of violence; Britons contributed to the mayhem but were not consistently vital to it. The more remote Homes, for instance, had only a sporadic British presence: these outposts in the jungle were staffed entirely by convicts, along with limited numbers of Andamanese forced to reside 'permanently' with the Indians, participating in an unpredictable experiment in social-political engineering.[69] Outpost Homes were, as such, a source of authority, autonomy and material gain for prisoners who controlled their micro-economies of rations and gifts, manufactures and produce, coercion and sexual opportunity. In 1875, the Home on Kyd Island was attacked by aborigines; all four convicts stationed there were killed, and 'everything of value' taken away by the attackers.[70] Tuson, who was then OC-Andamanese, believed that the attackers were insiders, i.e., men who had lived at that Home.[71] If he was right in that assumption (which he formed by interrogating other aborigines), then the incident should be interpreted not as an attack on 'the British' or an act of resistance against an expanding settlement, but as the appropriation of a particular resource – an outpost – from its apparent masters: the convicts stationed there.

The official rhetoric of runaway-hunting, in which packs of dog-like aborigines tracked vicious escapees for the benefit of Port Blair, was intended by the regime to counter the indiscipline, incomprehension and autonomy of these tensions. Convict officers could be said to be in 'command' of Andamanese pursuit parties, and both could be said to be acting on behalf of the regime, even – and especially – when they took the initiative for reasons that remained inscrutable.[72] This conjured an order of governance and civilization in which the savage remained external to the state and 'under' the convict officer, who was 'under' the white officer. H. Man and Cadell could thus seek to manipulate from above the shifting alliances between groups of aborigines and convicts, highlighting the rewards that the regime offered and downplaying the autonomy of inter-native relations: denying, essentially, that convicts and aborigines might be fighting a war – and occasionally making a peace – in which Britons were marginal actors. Portman and Godwin-Austen could seek to ground runaway-catching in native natures: the predatory and exploitative nature of Indian convicts, the vulnerable and volatile nature of the savage.[73] This made it unnecessary for Britons to recognize the complexity and contingency of convict–aborigine relations, which became uniformly hostile and inevitably violent, crying out for elite whites and the colonial regime to position themselves over the two groups as managers.

Convicts and aborigines did not so much fight a war or make a peace as they fought discontinuous battles interspersed with discontinuous truces. If they were allies with a 'common cause,' they betrayed each other constantly. They skirmished and bargained over material and political resources that included the patronage of the regime in Port Blair, but that were not restricted to what the regime had to offer or withhold. Not surprisingly, convicts perceived and produced a wildly inconsistent savage: one that was sympathetic and sheltering but also a fearsome threat. The government in Calcutta was typically suspicious of this split vision, and warned Tytler that the convicts, 'as a class, are quite capable of exaggerating the fear inspired in them by the natives, expressly in order to have arms entrusted to them.'[74] Inconsistency does not necessarily indicate duplicity, however, and the Home Department failed to recognize the essential ambiguity of convict society and 'settler' identity in the Andamans. In most circumstances, armed convicts in the Andamans showed no interest in turning their guns against their jailors.[75] They were already settlers in their own colony, dealing with their own jungles and savages.

Contested clearings

As soon as a space was conceived by British administrators for controlled savage encounters on the edge of the colony, it was overrun by Indians.

Outside the jungle, the Homes were the major venue of interaction between convicts and aborigines in the Andamans. Corbyn wishfully represented the first Home as the site of a privileged intimacy between white administrators and the Andamanese,[76] but the logistics of the penal colony were such that Britons were able to banish convicts from the clearing mainly in rhetoric.[77] Indians were supervising Andamanese visitors to the settlement even before the Homes existed. In 1860, Haughton noted that a group of aborigines had come to Viper Island and been received by a convict overseer named Kooshea Lall. 'This man . . . had considerable tact,' Haughton observed,[78] indicating that his admiration for the Indian was based on the latter's political identification with the settlement. Since Kooshea Lall was very likely a former rebel, Haughton could not take this identification for granted,[79] but he had to 'see' it to put the best face on what he could not control. Otherwise, he would have had to acknowledge the most basic dynamics of savage management in the clearing: it was based on constant competition between Britons and Indians, British 'victory' was far from assured, and losing the contest was synonymous with the corruption (and loss) of the savage.

The role of convict intermediaries in overseeing savages increased in scale and scope as the former acquired official positions in the new Homes. It was immediately apparent to British administrators that 'friendly intercourse' had already been outsourced to Indians. Trying to defend his regime when he was under pressure from the Government of India for mismanaging the Home, Corbyn told Ford in 1864:

> I am happy to inform you that the aborigines at North Outpost have quite altered their manner and behavior towards the convicts there. The Tolidar [convict officer] informs me that they give them more than they take from them, sharing with the convicts fruit which they bring in from the jungles, and fish of considerable size. He is now gently and gradually leading them to work; and endeavouring to make them understand that they must earn the food which we give them.[80]

Ford supported Corbyn, and told the Home Department that he had sanctioned the opening of two outpost Homes, staffed by Indians who would be in charge of the provisions 'with which they feed and conciliate any Andamanese visitors; any of whom, wishing to visit Mr. Corbyn or myself, are at liberty to find their way over to Ross in a small canoe stationed at each out-post for this purpose.'[81] Without this arrangement, Ford explained, the Home on Ross Island might be overwhelmed by Andamanese visitors.[82] In the years that followed, convicts became the major agents of linguistic exchange at the Homes, teaching Hindustani and learning 'Andamanese.'[83] While their linguistic authority was quickly appropriated by the white OC-Andamanese,

the authority of the pedagogical process remained with the Indians. Convicts were thus positioned not only as managers of the stuff of the savage encounter (tobacco, language), but as gatekeepers who might funnel a manageable number of Andamanese to Britons in the clearing and the colony.[84]

Convicts also enabled the penal function of the Homes. Corbyn was explicit about his own status as 'the judge' of aborigines accused of 'offenses.'[85] Nevertheless, the determination of an offense and the application of punishment were both substantially in the hands of convict officers. This was true not only in the remote outposts where no Britons were present, but even in the Homes nearer to the heart of the colony, where Corbyn's 'judging' role merely licensed and facilitated the authority of convicts over aborigines. An Andamanese captive named Jumbo, who ran away from the Home on Ross, only to be recaptured, seems to have told Corbyn of his anger at being 'beaten by a Native.'[86] Jumbo's resentment may not have had the racial emphasis that Corbyn assigned to it, since he may not have shared the assumption that being beaten by an Indian was more offensive to a savage than being beaten by a white man. (In 1863, that idea had probably not infiltrated Andamanese readings of racial hierarchy, violence and legitimacy in colonialism.) For convicts attached to the Homes, however, there were multiple benefits to be had from beating aborigines: pleasing British officers who depended on displaced violence,[87] and acquiring, experiencing and displaying power within the political structure of the clearing, which, like any prison environment, was marked by irregularities and opportunities for pleasure and display.[88]

Britons reacted to such displays with great uncertainty. When they responded to Indians as fellow-colonists and counterinsurgents, as they did periodically, their narratives could lapse into stories of camaraderie with Indian, Burmese and aboriginal companions. Corbyn wrote about a night halt deep in the jungle:

> [W]e were all in high glee and good humour; the Burmese regaled to their heart's content on roast pig, rice, and cockles, puffed their huge cheroots and bandied fun with Topsy and Jacko; the [Indians] collected round the poor Mussulman and rallied him on the subject of his religious scruples and aversion to pig's flesh. Topsy and Jacko went about the camp levying contributions, and amusing everyone with their merry pranks and eccentricities; altogether our camp presented a lively and diverting spectacle.[89]

In the context of the 'camp,' the racial boundaries of the colony could fade into a well-fed, cigar-scented, fireside stupor. At the same time, Corbyn narrates the episode with a sharp awareness of meaningful identities: Indians,

Burmese, Andamanese, white soldiers and white narrator all have their roles, and race/community is reinforced even as some of its rigidities are relaxed. The difficulty lay in controlling the terms and the process of relaxation. On the one hand, Britons relied upon the improvised or borrowed authority of 'natives' for their own ability to maintain an actual, imagined and pretended grasp on the aboriginal population; they could not disown Indian intermediaries entirely. On the other hand, they perceived themselves to be in a state of intense competition with these interlopers who had come between the sahib and the savage. The sense of competition was most palpable in Portman's vision of a savagery that was distorted by the violence of the inexpert,[90] and in his hostility towards the Corbyn-era vision of a settler-colony that encapsulated Indian convicts as well as their British jailors,[91] but it goes back to the invention of the clearing itself. It was a remarkably intractable problem within savage management and colonial governance.

The inclination to compete is most evident in the British insistence upon the primacy of racial conflict between the Andamanese and Indians even as they relied on Indians to oversee aborigines. Corbyn's remark that the Andamanese had 'a hatred of all Asiatics generally'[92] may be seen in this light. 'They have evinced a friendly feeling towards Europeans [but] they are distrustful to Natives,' Tytler wrote,[93] and Hellard observed: 'When the natives of India were near them, they mutter at them, it is impossible to catch the words, but it appears . . . to be abuse.'[94] While it is certainly possible that the Andamanese would swear at Indians under their breath, Hellard clearly did not understand what the men were saying. Nevertheless, he gave their 'mutterings' an interpretation consistent with his elite-white desire to monopolize the savage within an exclusive intimacy: the Andamanese must share the colonizer's contempt for other, inferior, parental candidates. Portman's major criticism of the Corbyn-Tytler administration was that it had failed to privilege this 'natural' intimacy: the Andamanese, he felt, recognized the unnaturalness of the authority of Indian intermediaries and rebelled against any regime that enabled it.[95] For Corbyn, Tytler, Hellard and also Portman, the ability to know what was natural to the savage was a basic function of their authority as colonizers, and the precise translation of mutterings a mere formality. As a political maneuver, this construction of nature is similar to the British insistence that Indian peasants loved white officers but disdained the native middle class.[96] In the Andamanese case, however, the supposition was facilitated by the 'problem' of translation, which was, in some ways, quite the opposite of a problem because it enabled imaginative acts of interpretation.

The nuances of this imagination are detectable in the distinctions that Corbyn made between 'good' and 'bad' convicts. Corbyn undoubtedly saw himself as an ally of convict-settlers in the Andamans.[97] Yet he was highly

uncomfortable with the most plausible 'settlers' in the islands: the self-supporters, especially when they came into contact with aborigines.[98] Self-supporters were 'bunneahs' inclined to sell adulterated food rations, Corbyn wrote, drawing them into the orbit of colonial caste prejudice as it was reproduced in the penal colony.[99] The problem, apart from *bania* habits, was that self-supporters were the most autonomous of all convicts in the Andamans excepting runaways. Britons had virtually no control over what they sold, told, did to, or did with, the Andamanese. Corbyn was more generous towards convicts who worked in the Homes under British supervision.[100] The problem, of course, was that such supervision was sporadic, restricting the scope of British approval as well as the scale of the clearing. This is precisely why, in 1865, the Government of India rejected Homfray's proposal that convicts and aborigines be encouraged to form mixed villages.[101] Not only would the plan have encouraged escape attempts, it would have constituted an escape in its own right by re-creating the clearing as a 'secret camp' and native bazaar: a racial, social and economic contact zone outside the vision of the government. One Dudhnath Tewari was a curiosity; an archipelago-full of them was a political meltdown.

It was, in fact, apparent to British observers that such a meltdown was already taking place in the Andamans, where 'secret' processes of cultural creolization were underway that transformed Indians as well as indigenes, in processes that paralleled creolization in colonies such as Guyana, Fiji and Mauritius.[102] Day wrote in 1870:

> It is curious to see the state into which the Hindu and Mahomedan convicts are drifting, destitute of religious rites, temples, or priests. Probably, were they left alone on the Andamans, without any fresh importations, their views after a few generations would be much similar to those of the Andamanese, who fear evil spirits, have a great dread of witchcraft, and imagine that the spirits of the departed soar away into space, to some place of quietness and haven of rest which they cannot comprehend.[103]

Apart from Day's imperviousness to irony, his fantasy about what might happen to Indians isolated in the Andamans is a remarkable vision of degenerative savagery, grounded in the nature of a place as well as human nature. It is an unusual application to natives of a common anxiety/fantasy within European 'tropical literature,' and a recognition that Robinson Crusoe in the Andamans – either as Tewari, or as the mysterious white maroon Knott[104] – was not far removed from the Andamanese 'Crusoe.' It is a recognition that the 'rules' of convict society were often radically improvised,[105] and an

admission that the clearing had become a runaway experiment in creolization. In the same breath, however, Day sought to reassert British control over this chaos: he contradicted himself, declaring that Indian convicts in the Andamans retained their attachment to caste, and that the Andamanese detested those who displayed caste prejudice. 'Amongst the dark-skinned races [they] prefer the Burmans, who will eat, drink and smoke with them,' he wrote, implying that sahibs were even more preferred; presumably racial exclusiveness was obviously distinct from 'caste' (and thus acceptable) to savages.[106] The sharper the perception of chaos, the stronger the insistence that the Andamanese disliked Indians more than they disliked Britons.

Corrupted blackness

A large part of the British perception of chaos in convict–aborigine relations involved the fear of corruption, i.e., the sense that the Andamanese were being compromised in their aboriginality. 'The pseudo-savage who has adopted the vices of the races with whom he has come into contact . . . is a more contemptible being than the original savage, and my wish is to keep the Andamanese as healthy savages only,' Portman wrote in 1896, using the language of health/medicine to articulate the related fear of social disorder.[107] The anxiety is very perceptible in the case of children, who symbolized the interrelated potentials for docility and survival of the 'Andamanese race' even before the epidemics.[108] The most important children's institution in the clearing – the Orphanage – kept moving: from Viper Island to Ross Island to Haddo, in a permanent search for control over its inmates, which meant, ironically, minimizing their contact with civilization.[109] This proved difficult, and as late as 1888 Chard complained that convict guards at the Orphanage were an 'evil' influence.[110] Adult aborigines were even harder to keep apart from Indians. What was open to British influence was also susceptible to the impression of racial inferiors.

No ready solution presented itself, and even ardently segregationist administrators could appear inconsistent. A part of the problem was that whiteness – the obvious antidote to native influence – was itself suspect in the clearing of Portman's time.[111] Condemning attempts by Corbyn and Homfray to teach aborigines English, Portman wrote: 'They should have been allowed to pick up a colloquial knowledge of Urdu from their convict attendants.'[112] He took the position, however, to underline the incompetence of Corbyn and Homfray as colonizers and his own superiority: not only did he know how to project an appropriate civilization that would not contaminate the savage, he understood the nature of natives and could limit the contaminating effect of Indians:

> Having no moral code [the Andamanese] at once adopt all the pleasant vices of civilization they can understand, but are not intellectually capable of deriving any advantages from their intercourse with strangers. I do every thing in my power to prevent their association with the convicts from whom they learn nothing but harm.[113]

Corruption by Indians was by far the greater threat to the savage than the danger posed by bumbling white soldiers and teachers. There were only a handful of whites but hundreds of Indian criminals associated with the Homes, Orphanage, Nursery, schools and hospitals of the clearing. Those identified as 'bad characters' (thieves, homosexuals, members of criminal tribes) by the penal regime could not always be weeded out from 'decent' (contrite, loyal) murderers and ex-mutineers,[114] and all were adversaries of Corbyn, Homfray and Portman because they attached no value to aboriginality. Under ideal circumstances, their contact with the Andamanese could be packaged within a fantasy of control by the all-seeing expert: the photographs that Portman took and preserved show a segregated clearing in which aborigines do not mingle with Indians.[115] The few convicts who do appear in the images are explicitly identified as agents of the regime, making it clear that they are not autonomous actors. Otherwise, contact was inseparable from linguistic, cultural and biological contamination, and in each case it signified the failure of white authority.

The tension between corruption and authority was built into the colonial project in the islands, with its simultaneous investments in civilization and savagery. In the mid-1860s, Phayre had insisted that the Andamanese should be taught coconut cultivation; he had also, however, balked at 'associating' aborigines with convicts who might instruct them in agriculture, leaving Ford in Port Blair with an administrative dilemma.[116] The fear of contamination and of autonomous association were thus closely related, and both had to be weighed against the contemporary flirtation with inculcating a civilization based on utility. Homfray, then OC-Andamanese, had sought to manage the tension productively, acknowledging that the Homes could not be run without the help of convicts, admitting that Indians infected savages with the deceit of the semi-civilized, and insisting that he was more 'cunning' than any savage could possibly be, and that 'it is by this art that I have succeeded for so long in working so well with them.'[117] He had effectively articulated a scale of race, savagery and innocence: the pristine innocence of the savage and the high cunning of the civilized white man, which are both desirable (albeit unequal), and the low cunning of the semi-civilized native and the corrupted savage, which is generally undesirable but valuable as a foil and a text. Homfray, in fact, saw corruption as a way of distinguishing politically and morally between different groups of Andamanese, telling H. Man that

contact between tame and wild aborigines resulted in the former being 'thrown back into their wild state.'[118]

E. H. Man also relied upon an understanding of social influence to organize the savagery of the Andamanese: he observed that aborigines who had been kidnapped from remote areas of Great Andaman and brought to the Viper Island Home worked harder than inmates from the Viper area. His explanation was that local people had more contact with their friends and relatives, and were therefore harder to discipline.[119] Such contact could not be prevented by Britons; the economic regime of the Homes was dependent upon barter between the tame and the wild.[120] Moreover, Man was writing at a time (1878) when contact between different groups of aborigines had become charged with the new problem of medical contagion. The problem itself, however, could be read biologically for the signs of different states of savagery.

Like unauthorized tobacco and alcohol, medical contagion was a sign of the contamination of the savage body, and because the specific disease was syphilis, of the autonomous sexual lives of aborigines, convicts and soldiers in the Andamans. Not only was this autonomy a form of racial delinquency (it violated the normative compartments of the colony), it was surrounded by the additional delinquencies of rape, male homosexuality and sex between adults and children. Syphilis and pregnancy – the 'interesting state' in which Tewari left his Andamanese wife, in the British transcript of his year in the jungle – were, as such, perfect metaphors of the loss of British control over savagery and native society, and of the existence of intimacies and erotics that competed with the exclusivity asserted by the upper-class sahib. It is worth noting that Homfray's proposal for mixed villages of convicts and aborigines, which evoked horror in both Portman and the Home Department, had envisioned specifically that Indians and the Andamanese would 'intermarry . . . and rear a race of half-breeds.'[121] The horror was inseparable from the suspicion that such violations of political and natural order were not only commonplace but natural in the Andamans. 'It is a curious fact,' Portman wrote, articulating a corollary of Francis Galton's prediction that racially superior male settlers would sexually out-compete indigenous men, 'that the Andamanese women breed better from Natives of India than from the males of their own race.'[122] The colonial scientist lived with a chronic anxiety about his relationship with such 'curiosities,' which challenged his ability to read, let alone dominate, native nature.

It was not only in the jungle that Andamanese and Indians engaged in 'intercourse' without British supervision. That the structure of the clearing generated considerable erotic opportunity is apparent from Portman's own engagement with the Andamanese,[123] but people less white and restrained than Portman also found the Homes congenial to sex. It is evident from the

syphilis, pregnancies and official fulminations that male convicts engaged in sex with Andamanese women and 'boys,' and that these relationships were a source of tension between Andamanese and Indian males.[124] The relationships were not entirely coercive. That aborigines and Indians were willing to 'marry' is clear not only from Tewari's jungle nuptials, but from the expressed desire (thirty-odd years later) of an Andamanese woman named Ruth to marry the convict father of her child.[125] Permission to marry was denied Ruth by the Homes regime, which saw 'intermarriage' as inherently disorderly.[126] Tewari's marriages were dismissed by Portman as the misunderstandings of a native who had failed to translate the savage world.[127] This does not mean that convicts and aborigines did not 'marry.' It means that these relationships existed apart from the normative colony and its language of order, as a manufactured delinquency and an autonomous social-political zone. Sex was a secret camp with its own rules, over which Port Blair had little control.

Sometimes the camp was discovered and punished: in 1892, a convict named Phulla received eighteen lashes and two years' labor in the chain-gang for 'unnatural crime' with an Andamanese 'boy' named Bira.[128] Such cases only underlined that detection was rare and punishment even rarer, and thus generated more anxiety than confidence. Even when the evidence was clear, the culprits remained elusive: Andamanese women found to be syphilitic (by processes of examination reminiscent of lock hospitals[129]) often refused to identify their infectors.[130] While the officer trying to coerce the confession inevitably insisted that this was out of fear of retaliation by convicts and implied that the sex itself had been coercive, it is certainly possible that the women were actually protecting their extra-colonial lives in the clearing, and that the officer suspected as much.[131]

Encounters with amorous natives splintered the savage in the Andamans, and broke down the colony itself. The official record is highly ambiguous, and its authors ambivalent, on the question of sexual agency. On the one hand, convicts were seen as sexually predatory native men. In February 1876, when aborigines at the Viper Island Home were discovered to be syphilitic, Superintendent Barwell quickly decided that a convict officer named Shera was 'the chief . . . offender' and remanded him to hard labor.[132] Andamanese innocence was also bruised, with Barwell remarking that 'the opinion hitherto prevalent about these people, that they are free from any taint of immorality, is entirely unfounded.'[133] Nevertheless, the greater moral flaw was pinned on the convict, who could very well have contracted syphilis from the Andamanese. While aborigines suspected of homosexual relations with convicts are referred to as 'boys,' the archive is vague about their ages. Some 'boys' in Portman's household were in their twenties. Nevertheless, they were juvenilized by virtue of their political relationship with Britons

like Portman (who was not much older than them when he became OC-Andamanese), and sexual relationship with Indians. The latter were 'men' on account of their punishment as adults, their racial location as civilized and the related presumption that they were the dominant/insertive partners in the sex that Britons envisioned. The fact that it was Phulla, not Bira, who was whipped for buggery and sent to the chain-gang indicates that the Indian/man was held responsible by the regime for the sexual relationship.

On the other hand, Portman argued that some Andamanese, such as Bira's friend Wologa, were 'addicted' to homosexuality.[134] This suggests that the 'boys' were not regarded by Britons as entirely passive victims. Portman, interestingly, rejected both rape and consent in his reading of homosexual contact between 'men' and 'boys,' locating it in the gray area of 'seduction,' which is neither coercive nor consensual.[135] Yet the identity of the seducer remains uncertain. The contemporary colonial discourse of institutionalized boys, and indeed the broader Victorian discourse of marginal children, is charged with the hypersexual attractions and 'habits' of the young, to which men and other children – white or brown – succumb understandably, even naturally.[136] Homosexual contact between convicts and aborigines was, for Portman, not so much a moral problem as one of disorder. It was a source of conflict (brawls, murders) and a form of competition (erotic, pedagogical, political) in the quest for 'influence.' Who would the aborigine choose: the sahib or the convict? The sexualized savage in the clearing thus emerged as a feminized and juvenilized victim of civilized lust, but also as a trap that lured Indians out from the clarity of the colony into a shadow world of quarrels and intimacies that Britons could not penetrate.

Conclusion

Civilization was deadly for the savage: this common formulation of nineteenth-century European savage encounters[137] had its acolytes in the Andamans well before Portman came along.[138] What, however, was the nature of this killer civilization? Who constituted it? Where was it located? In the Andamans, responsibility for the destruction of the aborigine was assigned disproportionately by Britons to those other agents and instruments of civilization: the convicts, who were both insiders and outsiders in this outpost of empire. The penal colony facilitated the convicts' association with the Andamanese, but it was also profoundly disrupted by it. The zones of association – the jungle, the Homes, various secret camps – became, in effect, alternative colonies that competed with the British settlement, even as these were essential to the operation of the official colony. Corbyn, Homfray or Portman might be 'Officer in Charge of the Andamanese,' but a great deal of their knowledge of the Andamanese percolated up from anonymous and

unseen encounters over which they had little control. Convicts did not hesitate to tailor what officialdom learned, or to borrow the skeleton of the 'official' savage to flesh out their own savages, which constantly threatened to overwhelm the savages of the ordered world of Port Blair and Ross Island.

In these other colonies, the aborigine was effectively dead, not only because of the 'obvious' causes of violence and disease, but also because convicts and aborigines outside British control were indifferent to the signposts of aboriginality, such as discovery, segregation, externality, innocence, a special intimacy with white 'protectors,' and biological-genealogical 'purity.' Colonial discovery is also vicarious discovery: it involves an assumption that it is through being discovered by the colonizer that the colonized discover each other. In the dominant discourse of the Andamans, the islanders were cut off from outsiders as well as each other, until 'connected' by colonialism. If natives discovered each other independently in secret camps, that discovery could only be delinquent and destructive. A 'mixed' child in the normative colony in the Andamans ceased to be an aborigine and became a failure of governance, whereas there is no indication that either the convicts or 'the Andamanese' cared very much. Under the circumstances, autonomous contact with 'natives' – not so much 'civilization' as its delinquent shadow – was interpreted by Britons as the major factor in the death of the savage in a colony that had lost (or never possessed) its boundaries.

6 Savage pleasures

The erotics of the Andamanese body

> The spray . . . magnified considerably the slight figures of the natives, making massive and formidable giants of men who were in reality little more than sable dwarfs.
>
> Mouat, 1863

Most of Portman's several hundred photographs of the Andamanese, their cultural life and 'natural' habitat were taken between 1890 and 1895, although some are considerably older. His collaborators in this enterprise were dozens of aborigines who posed for the photographs, carried his camera equipment, and assisted in the process of taking (and possibly developing) the pictures, many of which are of a very high quality in the technical sense.[1] Clearly, Portman is not the sole author of this extensive collection, and much of his work is within established idioms of colonial photography and anthropology.[2] He is, nevertheless, the major editor of the archive, having played a decisive role in selecting, labeling, organizing and preserving what exists.

In the same period that Portman took his pictures, he conducted a parallel project of ethnography, measuring at least 200 men and women. Using calipers and grids, he recorded various indices and measurements, as well as other physical characteristics that struck him as significant. Alongside these observations, he noted the social, political and psychological qualities of his subjects. Since there was substantial overlap between the photographed and the measured (many individuals appear in both portfolios), it is useful to consider the two projects as parts of a single initiative in the production, manipulation and consumption of savagery in tropical island colonialism. In an archipelago pre-polluted by the violent savagery of its inhabitants and then re-polluted by a clumsy and indiscriminate civilization, photography and ethnography were both strategies of reordering and re-imagining space and its contents. They were, as such, essential to the practice of taming.

It is important to remember at the outset that Portman was not driven by a single, simple or uniform purpose. Indeed, the idea of 'purpose' is not entirely sustainable, since it implies a consistent attachment to reason. What drove Portman, in part, was the possibility of subverting or bypassing reason in the clearing without relinquishing the authority of the reasoning colonizer. While his construction of the Andamanese as a 'dying race' fits what Christopher Pinney has described as the 'salvage paradigm' of anthropological photography,[3] the gloom he brought to the exercise is an affectation of the clearing and a part of the decadence of primitivism in a remote corner of the empire. Portman was engaged in a multi-layered experiment with discipline and pleasure: an organization of bodies, an elimination of superfluous movements, desires and flesh, and simultaneously, a recuperation of the wild and aberrant within the tame. Pinney, who somewhat overemphasizes the statist and surveillance-oriented aspects of photography in colonial India, has drawn attention to the panoptic discipline and indexical control achieved by camera and calipers.[4] Just as important, however, is (and was) the slippery discipline generated in the process of picture-taking and measuring, i.e., the micro-political encounter between sahib and savage. The photographed, measured and eroticized Andamanese body was a site where authority and rebellion, restraint and freedom, norm and deviance, could be reconciled for a new breed of colonizer who inhabited – and maintained – the clearing. It marked the emergence, in tandem with that colonizer, of a new breed of savage: an object of fantasy that was neither a mythical cannibal nor a historical enemy.

Picturing savages

Projects of rendering the savage body simultaneously prosaic and exciting predated Portman considerably in the Andamans. Colebrooke produced 'accurate' water-colors of the islanders in the 1790s.[5] Subsequently, the camera became a mechanism for renewing discovery: in 1857–1858, barely two decades into the history of photography in India, Mouat photographed his captive Jack.[6] (The first pictures of Jack were probably taken by the French photographer Oscar Malitte, who had accompanied Mouat to the islands; more were taken in Calcutta.) Tytler photographed aborigines 'visiting' Ross and Chatham Islands even before the Home was created,[7] and the Asiatic Society published an image of the captives who Fytche studied in Burma.[8] On May 4, 1872, the zoologist G. Dobson photographed Maia Biala.[9] In these photographs, Biala and wife recline, comfortably naked, smoking British-supplied pipes. Elizabeth Edwards has drawn attention to the voyeurism of Dobson's photographs: a quality that was amplified by the decision of the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* to conjure up a tuft of grass between

Biala's legs in the published prints.[10] The pictures of Biala had an ethnological purpose as well: since Brander and Day both suspected that Biala was Indian, Dobson's photography was implicitly an investigation.

E. H. Man also dabbled in photography. Unlike church-affiliated anthropologists in other colonized islands, Man made little effort to represent his images as texts of conversion, which had no significant place in the Andamans.[11] His photographs of aborigines clutching rulers reflect his own interest in measuring the Andamanese.[12] Speaking to the Anthropological Society of Great Britain and Ireland, Man used his photographs to illustrate the 'peculiarity, whether of physique, or of habits, customs, etc.' of the islanders.[13] When his lectures were published and eventually became his book on the Andamanese, Man provided sketches of aboriginal artifacts, anticipating Portman's photographs, albeit at a much lower level of verisimilitude. Man's anthropometric project, like Mouat's before him, was rudimentary by Portman's standards, involving fewer people and generating considerably less moral and political knowledge.[14] While such parallel projects of picturing and measuring the Andamanese – including Kloss' semi-serious and masturbatory efforts in 1902[15] and the work of Radcliffe-Brown in 1906–1908 – provide an evolving context within which Portman's encounter might be located, he remains the most dynamic practitioner and explicit ideologue of representation as a technique and an experience of taming.

In any discussion of Portman's photography in the Andamans, it is useful to begin with the 'autobiographical' narrative, i.e., the images of the artist himself. Where is he, and who is he, in his own pictures? Pinney has identified two modes of anthropological photography: one in which the photographer either does not recognize his or her intrusion into the picture or accepts the intrusive effect as unavoidable, and another in which the photographer is a self-conscious participant in what is pictured.[16] These are, of course, two modes not only of taking pictures, but of performing colonialism. Portman operated most commonly in the former, but sometimes very dramatically in the latter. This is not surprising, since the self-consciousness of the second mode is ideologically aligned with the marginal-insular colonialism of the Andamans. Collingham has noted the insistence on 'prestige' in the representation of white bodies in late nineteenth-century India.[17] The normative national, racial, sexual and gendered identities that undergird this prestige are products of what Wilson has called 'new technologies of the self,' and photography must be counted as one such technology.[18] The sahib on the jungle island, however, is both like and unlike his counterpart on the mainland. New technologies liberate him from norms; he performs a pantomime of civilization that drifts perceptibly into the territory of savagery. Moreover, unlike ordinary natives, savages cannot read the texts of prestige. (Portman was amused by Homfray's jungle durbar precisely because Homfray did not seem

to realize that.) Thus, a civilized ritual like photography can become ironic, inward-directed, revealed yet untranslated.

As part of a restructuring of the labor regime at the Andaman Homes when he became OC-Andamanese, Portman trained several aboriginal 'boys' to manipulate his camera and to take his picture.[19] This was a strategic deflection but not quite the reversal of a colonial gaze. The photographs of Portman taken by the Andamanese are superficially that of the savage looking at the colonizer and, by the demonstration of proficiency in a metropolitan technology, tentatively stepping outside savagery. Below that surface, it is the colonizer looking at himself reflected in his own eyes – which he has conveniently loaned the savage for the occasion – and stepping tentatively outside civilization. The images of Portman that survive in his archive thus reveal overlapping fantasies of Self and Other, becoming and holding back.

In one image, a robed Portman poses regally on an improvised throne, with a group of semi-naked Andamanese standing beside him [Figure 6.1]. The names of the islanders, who are described as a 'group of Andamanese Chiefs,' are given in the caption.[20] All have 'authentic' Andamanese names; they do not inhabit the frightening and alienating tropical jungle that savages renamed 'Crusoe' and 'Friday' haunted in the early days of the settlement. One man, a 35-year-old named Riala, is described elsewhere in the archive as the 'titular king of the Andamans,' and it is explained that he was given this title by the British in 1878.[21] Portman himself was instrumental in some of these appointments, having 'installed' men as 'chiefs' since 1879.[22] A number of other aborigines – wearing white robes marked with crosses – stand formally among them, but they are external to the pictured community, identified only as 'staff.'[23] In another image, Portman is dressed in a kind of white safari suit; he reclines on the ground, surrounded by 'the principal Chiefs of the South Andamans,' who wear nothing.[24] In a third picture, possibly taken in the same session, he steps forward aggressively from the center of a line of naked aborigines [Figure 6.2].[25]

There can be little doubt that in spite – or because – of the presence of the Andamanese 'chiefs' and 'king,' these photographs represent Portman in his own moments of coronation. Of what, however, is he becoming the king? The robed and safari-suited images suggest different domains, and the difference is critically important to the structuring of bodies and pleasures in the Andamans. Photographed on his throne, Portman produces himself as king of the clearing, rather than king of the jungle. The jungle has come to him and been rendered tame. This is a different mode of self-representation from the machismo of the safari-suited shots, in which Portman has entered the jungle and gone slightly wild himself. The former is the 'Father of Andaman Islanders' presiding over a dying race; the latter is the Portman

who burned down villages and danced on the beach.[26] In each case, Portman may be said to be indulging in a form of cross-dressing, putting on the garb not of the native savage, but of affiliated white creatures. McClintock has argued that such experimentation is not necessarily subversive of social hierarchies but is nevertheless charged with political purpose.[27] I suggest that the possibility of subversion is, in fact, a critical part of the mechanism by which power was experienced in the clearing.

Portman is not the only European to appear with the Andamanese in his archive of images. Other Britons attached to the penal colony – Ford and his wife, for instance – make occasional appearances, as do Indian convicts. The Fords' pictures show them with naval officers in Port Blair, a pair of naked young Andamanese men posed symmetrically at their feet. The caption informs us that this is 'Mrs. Ford's honeymoon group.'[28] The Andamanese here appear in the unremarkable colonial role of exotic servants, but they are also a decidedly unusual wedding present for Mrs. Ford, who, like Portman, has ventured into a dangerous but pleasurable world of racial and sexual posturing. For Portman, and more tentatively for the Fords and the sailors, proximity to savage bodies and the possibility of recording that proximity provides opportunities not only for demonstrating a reassuring and triumphantly normative whiteness, but also for exploring and controlling delinquent whitenesses and sexualities.

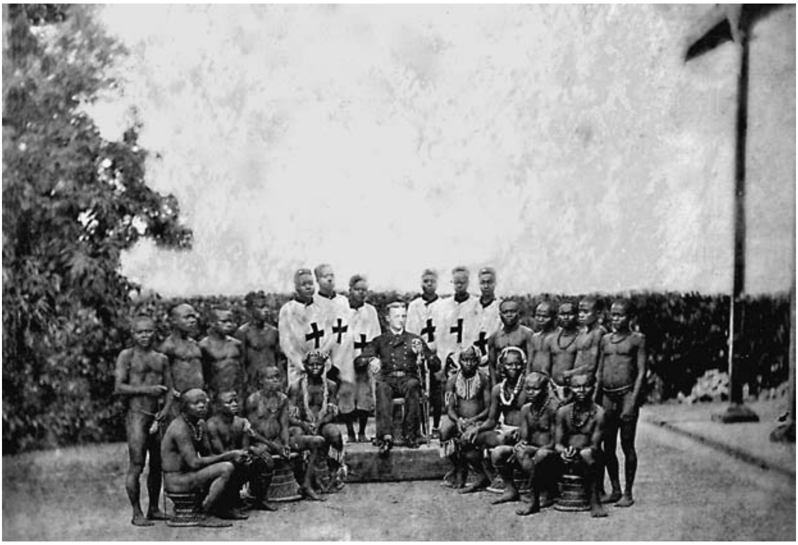

Figure 6.1 Portman and islanders, posed formally.

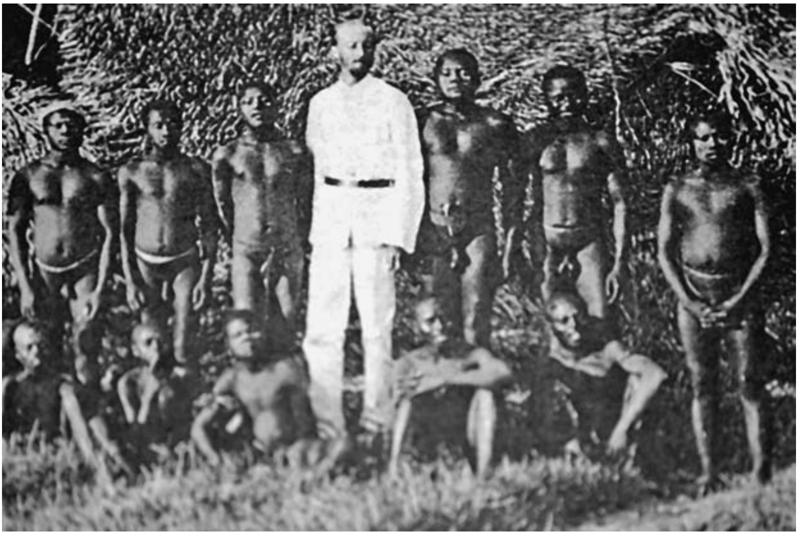

Figure 6.2 Portman and islanders – an alternative formality.

Much of Portman's photography is quite conventionally erotic, and more specifically, homoerotic. To some extent, this is to be expected in the art of imperialism in India in the 1890s. Unlike the colonial encounter of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and its contemporary representations,[29] the post-1830s Indian empire was constructed by its writers and artists as an essentially masculine space: an intimate encounter between 'two strong men,' a relationship of dominance between a strong man and his effeminate counterpart, a fraternal adventure of barracks and battlefield, or a boy's game without the distracting corruption of girls.[30] McClintock's conception of a 'porno-tropics' of empire is not so much incorrect as historically imprecise; it generalizes too broadly across time and space and is fixated upon heterosexual desire.[31] The pornography of the tropical island was real enough.[32] Except in extraordinary circumstances like the Mutiny or the Ilbert Bill affair, however, women were peripheral to the work and permissible imagination of male colonizers in India, and given the fear of miscegenation in a period when colonial hybrids, the Morant Bay uprising and the abolition of slavery in America had all come to preoccupy ideologues of empire, native women especially so.[33] The late Victorian colonial erotic was, in its not-so-secret heart, simultaneously juvenile/asexual and homoerotic;[34] indeed, extrapolating from Bose, it may be said that homoeroticism, in concert with violence, put the 'rogue' in 'rogue-colonial individualism.'[35]

Portman represented homoerotic colonialism in its most advanced, museological stage.[36] The question of whether Portman was 'homosexual' is not especially pertinent, and the anachronism of that sexual identity may have left a space for unidentified desires.[37] There are no references in his archive to lovers of either sex, but it is not inconceivable to say that he was more interested in male Andamanese bodies than in the female, and that the gender politics of late Victorian colonialism, combined with the nineteenth century's irruption of sexual knowledge[38] and the masculinizing technology of the camera[39] (which immunized homoeroticism against the charge of effeminacy) allowed him to express this interest with considerable freedom. Portman did not need to have sex to 'materialize' himself and the objects of his desire as gendered bodies; in his case, photography and ethnography constituted the sexual performance that Judith Butler has theorized.[40]

Portman was explicit about the racial and gendered aesthetics of his erotic encounter with the Andamanese, writing, 'Many of the men are very good-looking; as they have none of the thick lips, high cheekbones, and flat noses of the negro type; though the women are rather of the Hottentot Venus order of beauty.'[41] Hottentot Venuses were hardly exempt from colonial projects of erotic-scientific investigation, but Portman's priorities lay elsewhere.[42] At the center of his photographic gaze is a particular sort of Andamanese, who is typically young, male and muscular. While his photographs of heads capture equal numbers of males and females [Figures 6.3 and 6.4], the other images – especially those that might be described as casually posed – are overwhelmingly those of males. Few are younger than 14 or older than 40, and none is wrinkled by age or illness even in an era defined by syphilis, measles and pulmonary disease.[43] When behind his camera, Portman sought to record not the decrepitude brought on by civilization, but the beauty of a savage body that he had recuperated in the clearing. The discourse of imminent extinction provided a context (and an urgent justification) within which a vanishing aesthetic asset could be showcased and preserved.

One photograph is a stunning shot of three young men, naked except for some jewelry, facing the camera. One leans on another's shoulder, while the other touches the small of his companion's back [Figure 6.5].[44] Portman has captioned the image 'Three Athletes,' projecting on to the Andamanese a late Victorian and Edwardian image of masculine athleticism that would reach its apex in the years preceding the Great War.[45] There are several similar pictures. In the folder titled 'Painting and Tattooing' is a photograph of five naked young men, two facing the camera and two facing away, penises and buttocks prominent at the center of the frame.[46] In another composition, an Andamanese man is captured in a sprinter's crouch.[47] The head shots, taken frontally and in profile, show calm, dignified, 'noble' visages, with nothing in the background to contradict or qualify the impression.[48] Nearly a century

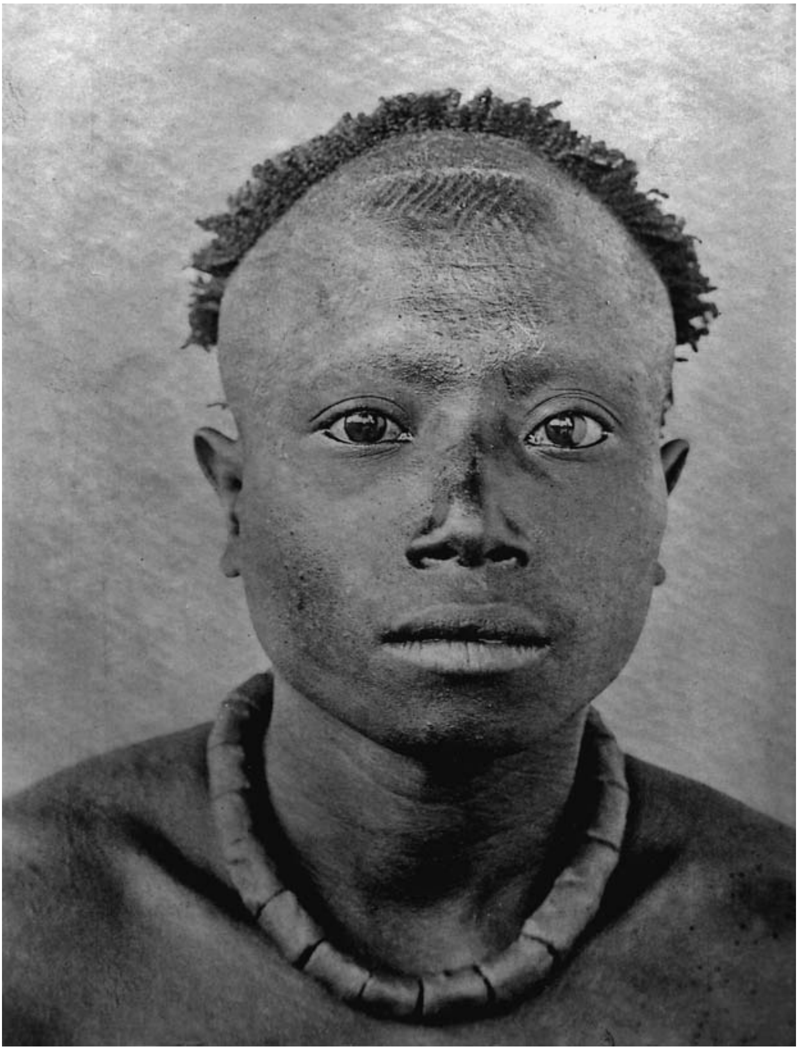

Figure 6.3 Typical head shot – male.

after the first colony in the islands, the British had finally discovered noble savages in the Andamans by isolating the Andamanese from the history of colonialism. These would be recognizably beautiful young men no matter where in the late Victorian world they were imaged; complicating the conventional assumption that colonial photography was largely about

Figure 6.4 Typical head shot – female.

the creation of difference,[49] aesthetics had been detached from context by the camera and rendered 'pure.'

The three men depicted in Figure 6.5 were not the only athletes that Portman found in the islands: his studies of individual Andamanese uncovered several 'sportsmen,' a 'gymnast' and even a cyclist.[50] It goes

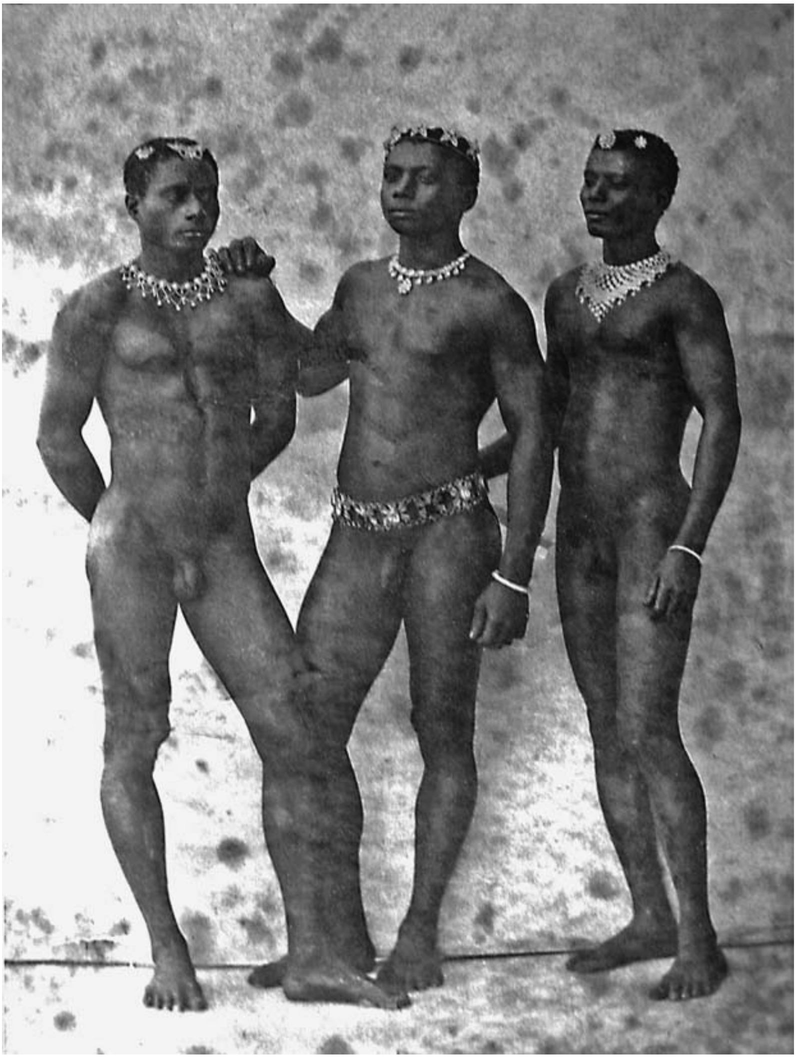

Figure 6.5 'Three athletes'.

without saying that athleticism and sport are cultural constructs deeply implicated in colonial world-making.[51] Bicycle-riding represents a significant cultural intervention in the clearing, but more pertinently, Portman's rhetoric is itself an intervention supported by the merged discourses of the eroticized athlete and the eroticized savage. He had recovered or appropriated the

Andamanese into a 'universal' beauty via savagery and athleticism for metropolitan consumption, not to mention his own.

Yet, as in Leni Riefenstahl's images of the Masai and Nuba, the universalism is highly unstable.[52] As often as not, the agent of destabilization is Portman himself, interrupting himself to qualify the familiarity of the erotic display. The apparently sprinting man, the caption explains, represents the 'attitude of an Andamanese when crouching, or watching for something.'[53] The universal athlete, it turns out, is actually a peculiar savage. Next to photographs of men sitting on the ground, Portman elaborates:

> The Andamanese are a lazy race, and . . . must, if standing up, always lean on or against something. [They] assume as many attitudes in sitting or lolling about, as an English schoolboy, whom, in disposition they much resemble.[54]

The caption is typical of Portman's attempts to modulate the distance between the savage and the English self: they are like us, Britons are told, except that they are quasi-juvenile.[55] They are athletes, except that they are lazy like natives. In the process, reflecting a maneuver in contemporary colonial criminology, physical 'attitudes' were translated into the 'habit and custom' that constitutes the Hegelian fabric of pre-world-historical, pre-individualized societies.[56] In the clearing, habituality was translated into a visual text, and translated again into anthropological and moral-governmental knowledge.[57] (The juvenile minds that Portman read and the adult bodies that he measured found their way simultaneously into the *Imperial Gazetteer*.[58]) Each movement was enabled by the technology of the camera and the power of the photographer to pose the savage according to his desires and preconceptions. The Andamanese were essentially made to act out their laziness, athleticism, cowardice, childishness, ridiculousness, dignity or peculiarity.

The tactic of destabilizing the erotic was also brought to bear on Portman's photographs of the Andamanese interacting with each other, apparently indifferent to camera and colonizer. Two men face each other, holding hands and looking intently into each other's eyes.[59] Portman's caption intervenes:

> When parting, there is no crying, but the two parties take each other's right hands, and, in turn, each blows on the hand of the other. They can give no reason for this, except that of custom. After this, as they move away, sentences are exchanged, such as 'I am going to my country,' 'Do not quarrel with anyone,' 'May no snake bite you,' the complimentary answer to which is, 'May no centipede bite you,' then 'I will take good care,' messages, etc. are shouted, and the parting thus takes some time.

> Judging from Leech's caricatures, similar partings are not unknown in England.[60]

Eroticism is produced only to be subverted immediately by humor, Otherness by a caricature of the Self. Another image shows a man sitting on a woman's lap, facing and embracing her.[61] It is a startlingly intimate composition, although it is certain that Portman staged the intimacy carefully. In his caption, Portman explains what the picture reveals:

> When Andamanese meet after a long separation . . . they cry, this custom applying to both sexes. For about half an hour, and sometimes till the dusk after they actually meet, they sit about apart, take no notice of each other, and do not speak. Then one approaches the other, they throw their arms round each other's necks, and sitting on the ground, cry demonstratively. Others join, and one may see a heap of ten Andamanese crying and howling in a way that can be heard a mile off. In the case of men and women, and particularly of husbands and wives, the man sits on the woman's legs, as shown. This crying may continue for an hour, and generally ends in a dance. Between their sobs they will utter exclamations such as the name of the person, and some endearing terms.[62]

The tender dignity and eroticism of the image is undercut in several strokes. First, there is the composition itself, with its likelihood of choreography and the jarring content of a quasi-sexual pose in which the man straddles the woman: a pose that Man had associated with wedding nights.[63] Second, there is the caption, with its reference to a 'howling heap' of Andamanese. These serve to keep the beautiful savage 'off-balance' and fluid, open to repositioning and reinterpretation. Portman's erotica is only superficially of the *National Geographic* variety. Under that surface, it is off-key and upside-down, even disturbing. A man straddles a woman, a reclining man has his belly painted, a naked man is held down forcefully and tattooed by other men while a kinetic circle of women applaud.[64] This off-key dynamic – the queerness in the erotic – is a critical part of the savagery depicted in the photographs. At the same time, tamed and posed savagery provided a safe location for queerness. The destabilization of erotic convention deflated and qualified the erotic, but at the same time it supplied a delinquent, secret edge that is central to the post-epidemic stage of savagery in the Andamans.

The ability to achieve both movements without being caught exclusively in one or the other maneuver is a form of control that is itself pleasurable to the colonizer, and it is not surprising that the ability to intervene and manipulate is critical to the savage erotic that Portman produced. For instance,

most of the images that might be described as erotic – that draw the viewer's attention to the body or face of the subject – are of individual Andamanese; the group shots are, with exceptions, comparatively nondescript. Portman's preference for individual shots reflects the greater editorial initiative possible in photographing solitary subjects. As in any number of colonial encounters, the savage crowd becomes an adversary of the ordering colonizer, as evidenced by Corbyn's struggle to control unruly inmates of the Home or George Orwell's trauma when faced with the elephant.[65] Inevitably, a contest ensues over the content and process of the order achieved: in this case, the composition and representation of photographed bodies. In one sequence of two photographs, Portman first presents an unremarkable image of men sitting together in no particular order, and then a shot of the same group of men, all turned away from the camera.[66] The result, in the second image, is a striking picture of shiny skin and muscle, without any disruptive autonomy of physical posture or facial expression. The erotic, in this exercise, is an effect of power, achieved when Portman achieves control over the photograph.

The technology of erotics

The erotic is also a tactic of power: the process of its production generates new relations of order and control. There is no doubt that Portman imagined photography as an interrogation – i.e., a manipulative extraction of knowledge –, writing in 1896 that 'savages will . . . answer more freely when the interrogator places himself on the same level as themselves.'[67] Such manipulation requires suitable props. The camera, of course, is itself such a prop. There is nothing automatic about this; it is reasonable to expect that if Portman had simply stepped off a boat and begun taking pictures of the islanders, he would not have accomplished much in the way of erotic images. He had, however, pedagogically engaged the Andamanese in the technology of photography, with its machines, controls and routines, and thus generated a preliminary effect of discipline. The young men in the clearing carried his camera, tended to it, used it, and in the process became accustomed to submitting to its requirements. There are no pictures of the Andamanese using a camera (although there is at least one image of them carrying photographic equipment). Yet images of the Andamanese 'doing things' – i.e., engaged in activities significant to their assigned identities – are ubiquitous in Portman's pictures. These activities and their associated props, including the natural setting of the pictures, not only constitute visual captions, they function as disciplining mechanisms.

Portman's archive includes several folders of photographs of the Andamanese at work: manufacturing weapons, tools and rope, shooting arrows, and so on. The appropriation of Andamanese tools by colonizers in

search of their own tools of competition, which began early in the second settlement, was at its zenith at the turn of the century, when visitors to the clearing typically helped themselves to bows, harpoons and axes.[68] While Portman himself collected artifacts, he saw other European collectors as indiscriminate, aggressive and greedy.[69] Partly because it did not remove what it collected, the photograph emerged as Portman's favored method of collecting not only the artifact but the artisan.

Such photography falls within a fairly new genre of codified 'folk art' or 'craft' in modern India. Cohn and Paul Greenough have pointed out that these carefully structured performances of rural artisanship represent the modern search for authenticity and the construction of India as a 'crafts nation.'[70] Such constructions have obvious appeal for colonial as well as nationalist imaginations, and in recent years the Indian nation-state has gone to some lengths to incorporate 'tribal crafts' into a clearing on the periphery of the national mainstream.[71] Extending Cohn, Deepali Dewan has drawn attention to the body of the craftsman, arguing that representations of the working native body in colonial art mark a site of tension between cultural authenticity and corruption, and of an attempted imposition of discipline.[72] Portman's pictures illuminate the centrality of the erotic in this process of disciplining, as well as the distance between the authenticity of the savage and that of the peasant-craftsman. Unlike the carefully costumed craftsmen that Dewan and Greenough have written about, Portman's Andamanese workers wear nothing at all. Portman was not interested in producing civilization; he was imagining a disciplined anti-civilization, stripped down to a controlled savage essence. The tension that is on display in Portman's images is not so much between authenticity and corruption as between the wild and the tame: the yielding of the savage body to a particular regimen of work and observation.

There is, first of all, the nature of the work itself. Portman's craftsmen are not engaged in cultivation or carpentry, let alone clerical work. They scrape fiber from trees and twist it, step by photographed step, into varieties of rope that have different functions in the aboriginal world. They make specific types of bows, arrows and harpoons, and close-up photographs of their hands illustrate the methods of their use: how to hold a tool, how to release an arrow, alternative techniques.[73] The workers are apparently unaware of the camera even in the close-up shots. Their savagery is not eroded by the revelation of their work; it is enhanced. Portman, in these photographs, invents a concept of work – the work of the savage – that had hitherto been implausible and self-contradictory in the Andamans except in the context of runaway-hunting. He achieves this by recuperating a particular range of 'authentic' and plausibly savage cultural activities under the rubric of work. As an act of cultural and rhetorical production, it is not unlike re-imagining as 'athletes' Andamanese engaged in hunting, fishing and running.

Like the savage athlete, the savage worker is both disciplined and free. He is free because the colonizer is not overtly in the picture. Portman is engaged in staging performances of tame savagery, with the savage located in an apparently unmediated and uncolonized 'natural' environment. He is disciplined because Portman has determined the categorical limits within which his activities will count as work, and invested with his authority its setting: the trees, creeks and sea-shores of the clearing, where the perverse tropicality of the 'jungle' has been tamed but not reduced to the banality of a 'forest.'[74] The tame jungle is itself a prop of power, silencing all noise except the voice-over of authority. 'Observe throughout these photographs the manner in which the feet are made to assist the hands,' Portman intones in a caption beside pictures of adze-making.[75] The exercise of power is multi-directional: viewers, like the worker, are directed by Portman to cede to him the position of authority, and are reminded that the artifacts of the periphery that Portman is revealing to them are now located in that most central of imperial venues, the British Museum.[76] The modern lay viewer's pleasure in savagery and sense of racial-political superiority thus coincides with the experiences of subordination and discipline.

Portman represents aboriginal technology as examples of a historically evolved ingenuity; he rejects, partially, the idea of the colony as an 'anachronistic space' in which the savage exists outside history.[77] The Andamanese used to make adzes with shells, a caption tells us, but now they use iron.[78] A photograph of a Cyrena shell being used to prise open another shell is captioned: 'This is probably the first "oyster knife" known.'[79] Portman is quite ready to historicize savagery by breaking it down into progressive technological stages. This is different from any static model of the savage, allowing greater space for expert intervention and interpretation. Nevertheless, it is not an 'open-ended' evolutionism; it does not envision a point at which the artisan 'graduates' from savagery. Such graduation is neither imminent nor desirable, whereas savage technology, however primitive, can be admirable.

The idea of savage genius is related to the ingenuity of children, but it is not the same. What Portman accomplishes is a merger of the utilitarian idea of the child-savage with the Romantic notion of the savage as an embryonic ancestor.[80] The savage genius he generates through his photographs of Andamanese artisanship represents a technological stage that has been missed or bypassed by the civilized: it no longer has a use in the civilized world, but it still produces in the civilized an awareness of having missed a step, and a consequent sense of wonder. It might be argued that after the 'Mutiny,' the aboriginal savage serves as a repository of Romantic impulses in British-Indian colonialism. The savage is neither quite the Self nor absolutely the Other; there is instead a pleasurable and continuous process of modulation in

which savagery can be immersed within, removed from or repositioned in the various constituents of the modern Self: history, technological improvement, moral progress and familiarity.

Like images of crouching or reclining aborigines, representations of technology in anthropological photographs convey the diverse and fluctuating moral assessments that go into the articulation of Andamanese savagery and its relationship with whiteness. For Portman, bows and arrows function as a shorthand for collective inclinations such as truculence or cowardice. Photographs serve as the proof. They recover the savage from an older and unreliable Romantic image into the 'stern fidelity' of the photograph,[81] which then informs a new, more veritable Romanticism. The image of a denuded tree prefacing the section on bow-making is captioned:

> The bow and arrows are the weapons of the Andamanese, and are rarely out of his hand in the day, or far from him at night. In any danger, without his bow the Andamanese is useless and, never at any time very brave, flees at once, if attacked unarmed.[82]

The photographs and the artifacts themselves straddle – and dissolve – the line between 'scientific racism' and 'commodity racism,'[83] highlighting the scientific value of commodified savagery, and simultaneously the commodification of scientific representation.[84] Primitiveness and genius, admiration and condescension, cowardice and its remedy, are thus reconciled in images of technology presented neither as useful nor as useless (bypassing the major utilitarian benchmarks of civilization), but as products of the peculiar world of the clearing.

The aesthetic of the technological savage is never removed from the eroticized body. The workers are all naked young Andamanese males with well-defined muscles and taut skin. Penises and buttocks are prominent in the full-body shots. Primitive technology in combination with naked muscularity generates the 'wild' aspect of the aesthetic, and not surprisingly it functions as a façade for a typically colonial maneuver of voyeurism and display: Portman's desire and his ability to display to others the objects of his desire. These are bodies that can be invested with delinquent pleasures, much as they can be invested with wonderfully primitive tools. At the same time, there is no room for serious doubt that these are the bodies of the tamed. The superfluities of motion that Foucault identifies as indiscipline have been entirely eliminated from the work of the savage; Portman's photographs produce the illusion of stillness and docility as effectively as any cell.[85] Banished, likewise, are the excesses of the body itself: untidy flesh or flab, hair or skin, excitement or misery. The beautiful body engaged in work that reveals the savage is thus a site of secret pleasures reined in by authority.

Average sexy bodies

Portman's records of his measurement of the Andamanese begin in 1894; the project coincided with his final years in the islands. It coincided also with the high water mark of colonial anthropometry in India, overlapping with the better-known work of Risley,[86] smaller, localized anthropometric projects in prisons, reformatories and mental asylums,[87] and a wider anthropological enterprise that served the empire.[88] Because much scholarly attention has been focused on the work of Risley, it is easy to view colonial anthropometry as primarily a mechanism of orientalist caste-making, and more specifically, as a largely unsuccessful attempt at racializing caste.[89] To take this view is to overlook the sheer multiplicity of the functions of the measured body in late nineteenth-century India. In the Andamans, anthropometry was undoubtedly a means of racial location. Its other, less readily admissible purpose was to establish a set of links between governance and erotics, i.e., the connections between desirable bodies and desirable political behavior that undergirded tame savagery. It was, moreover, itself an exercise in erotics and governance: a laying of hands and eyes on the bodies of subjects rendered docile by the exercise. Finally, it aimed to create a record of the Andamanese as a perpetually vanishing fossil that would exist only, or primarily, in the museum of the clearing.

The measurement of the Andamanese was closely tied not only to the post-epidemic medical enterprise in the islands, but also to a wider world of biological expertise that Portman both resisted and courted. His major instrument was the Traveler's Anthropometer, presented to him by Sir Wollaston Franks, an antiquarian at the British Museum with an interest in savages.[90] Portman did not work alone; apart from his team of 'friendly' Andamanese, he was assisted by an IMS doctor named William Molesworth, whose notes on the Andamanese were plagiarized by his partner. The methods used were overtly medical, and the results are organized into folders titled 'Measurements and Medical Details.' Portman describes a portion of the exercise:

> The temperature has been taken by a clinical thermometer, corrected at Kew, and kept for five minutes under the tongue of the subject. Many of the observations for temperature have been checked by other observations at different times, and on different days, taken with four other thermometers.[91]

There is little indication that these procedures were chaotic and contested like the epidemic medicine deployed in the islands in the 1870s.[92] Portman paints (and photographs) a picture of sedate, unopposed work, as 200-odd

'patients' line up to have their temperatures taken and body parts scrutinized. Some individuals look distinctly unhappy when clamped in the jaws of the Traveler's Anthropometer,[93] and it is likely that Portman's editorial privileges have elided the more obvious evidence of resistance. It is, however, also likely that Portman and Molesworth met with less resistance than doctors and administrators had faced in earlier decades. The clearing of the 1890s was more compact, more limited in its functions, and more disciplined in its relationship to authority than the Homes of the past. It was thus more accommodating of an exercise in the staging (and the partial realization) of authority.

For each measured aborigine, Portman provides a set of 'observations on external characters.' These include color of skin 'not exposed to the air' (graded on a ten-point scale ranging from 'black' to 'rosy white'), color of eyes, 'fold of skin at inner angle of eye,' color of hair on the body and face, shape of face ('long and narrow; medium; short and broad; pyramidal; [and] wedge-shaped'), profile of nose ('straight; aquiline; concave or turned up; high-bridged; sinuous or wavy, Chinese type; Negroid type; Australoid type'); 'Prognathism or prominence of the region of the mouth,' lips ('thin; medium; thick; everted'), and 'prominence of the face transversely.' He then provides several 'Essential measurements': head, nose, 'projections of head,' 'bizygomatic breadth of face,' lengths of upper limb, length of cubit, length of hand along its back, length of foot, sitting height, kneeling height, standing height, height to chin, height to sternal notch, height from internal malleolus to the ground, and span of arms.

These are followed by 'additional measurements': maximum breadth of shoulders, maximum breadth of hips, diameter of face, length and breadth of ear, height of umbilicus from the ground, 'biorbito-nasal arc,' circumference of chest, and 'minimum and maximum supra-malleolar circumference of leg.' Finally come a set of 'special measurements': length of body from seventh cervical spine to lower end of coccyx, bi-acromial breadth, bi-iliac crest breadth, length of arm, length of forearm, length of thigh, length of leg, height of external malleolus from the ground. Each subject also provided tracings of a hand and a foot, and biographical details including name, age, tribe, location in the islands, sex, 'general condition' (stout/medium/thin), and language. Nearly all of the measured were classified as either Eremtaga or Aryauto.[94]

Generated on the edge of a penal colony, biometrics may seem to have an obvious surveillance-oriented function, but there is no evidence that the records were utilized to track the Andamanese like convicts or used against them in the investigation of offenses. The records served a different tracking function. As much as the Traveler's Anthropometer, biometric criteria constituted the trellis on which Portman suspended the savage body. While

his collaboration with Molesworth and a wider profession of doctors is evident in the medical terminology, Portman was going beyond the usual scope of epidemic medicine, with its tendency to regard populations as patients.[95] He was acutely interested in individual peculiarities. This interest was aligned with a tendency within enclavist colonialism in India in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when the managers of carceral institutions supplemented their investment in group norms with a new curiosity about deviant individuals.[96] Unlike the work of his contemporary E. B. Tylor, who imagined unvariegated 'uncivilized tribes' that could be represented by interchangeable portraits, Portman's anthropometric archive is overwhelmingly a record of individuals.[97] His broader goal, however, included the identification of what he called 'the Andamanese average,' and the utilization of that average to locate the Andamanese in a wider world of races and savages.[98]

The assertion of an 'average' is itself an act of dominance: an encapsulation by knowledge of the individual and the collective he or she represents. While a discourse of 'averageness' predated Portman's measuring exercises, the latter confirmed that average and elaborated upon it. The relationship between presumption and confirmation – i.e., the processes by which the presumption is confirmed – is, essentially, the substance of colonial power. In a typical recording, Portman wrote about a woman named Torok, who he guessed was 'about' 38 years old:

> Quiet, good-tempered and intelligent. Has had two children, one male and one female, both dead. Breasts full and semi-pendulous. Teeth sound, crowded, and displaced in the front of the lower jaw. No offensive smell from body. Breath foul. Lobe of ear curved and attached to head. Indication of Darwin's joint. Pulse 111 beats per minute. Breathing abdominal. 22 respirations in a minute. Temperature in health 99.4 degrees. Weight 77 lbs. Dyspeptic.[99]

Torok's high pulse rate possibly reflects her agitated condition while she was measured, sniffed and palpated by British officers, indicating one way in which the political exercise may have predetermined the medical record. Another woman, Lecho, is 'about thirty-three . . ., quiet, intelligent, [and] masculine,' and Paro, in her early forties, is 'fat . . . and not very intelligent' but has 'full and firm breasts.'[100] Occasionally, a recorded body would reify the boundaries of intra-Andamanese populations already established through exploration and counterinsurgency. Regarding a woman named Beno, Portman notes:

> There is a coppery tinge over all the exposed parts of the body, particularly the points of the face. This is very characteristic of the North

> Andamanese Group of Tribes, as distinguished from the South Andamanese Groups, who are blacker. The Onges again are less black than the North Andamanese Groups.[101]

While Portman almost never photographed the elderly (or did not preserve such photographs), older Andamanese were among those that he measured. An 'elderly' woman named Bia is noted for her 'protruding corrugated belly' and 'big, pendulous breasts.'[102] Tra, aged 52, is said to have 'considerable steatopygia' and be 'remarkably fat.' (She weighed 123lb.) Several other women are noted as having steatopygia.[103] That older Andamanese show up rarely in Portman's photographs indicates his aesthetic agenda, but their presence in his measurements reveals an investment in harvesting aging bodies. Steatopygia, for instance, was usually associated with Africans,[104] and Portman's diagnosis is a part of his attempt to affiliate the Andamanese racially.[105] It may also be argued that attention to the rather typically aged bodies of old women functions as a negative aesthetic gaze: Portman notices the deviations from the beauty of the young savage body, no matter how 'normal' the deviation might be.

The attention to aesthetic details that are generally unquantifiable or even absent (like bad breath and body odor) indicates that Portman was engaged in reproducing a body that was not only measurable as a scientific specimen, but a sensuous object that could be touched and smelled, and, as the reference to a masculine woman indicates, as an object gendered beyond its sex. It might be suggested, modifying Ashis Nandy's point about white women and Indian men in Victorian colonialism, that Portman saw Andamanese women as his sexual rivals and was therefore inclined to desexualize them.[106] Alternately, it may be argued – following Bullard's analysis of the French tendency to find Melanesian women 'ugly' – that the assessment reflected the sexual unavailability of the women.[107] Victorian males certainly did not find Andamanese women unworthy of notice. By the early 1860s, rape was tacitly acknowledged as a factor in the politics of the colony, and Mouat, who foreshadowed Portman in declaring the female islanders 'absolutely hideous,' conceded that white sailors pursued 'the less repulsive[108] with amorous intentions.'[109] Mouat's remark reflects the unfeminine 'vulgarity' and ethnological condition of the savage female, and possibly his horror of the junglescape the women inhabited.[110] It reveals, further, the intersection of class and desire in the savage encounter: the upper-class colonizer was impelled to affect a heterosexual chastity that did not bind subalterns similarly. For the elite white male in the clearing, lust was deflected into pure aesthetics and wonder: Man found the younger women 'youthful and graceful,' and the older ones 'so obese as to be objects of wonder.'[111] Portman's homoeroticism did not preclude him from taking an

interest in the firmness of women's breasts, and he knew, presumably, that metropolitan readers might find such details to be of more than scientific interest.

The close relationship between erotic appreciation and the politics of the clearing surfaces powerfully in Portman's records, and not just in the elevated pulse rates of nervous aborigines. It is difficult to escape the connections that he made between the aesthetics of the measured body, the assumed intelligence of the individual, and her 'disposition,' i.e., her relationship with his regime. For instance, Burchel is described as a woman of 'very nervous, irritable disposition' and 'not very intelligent.' Her breath and body smelled 'slightly unpleasant.'[112] On the other hand, Biye, a 27-year -old from the west coast of Middle Andaman, was a 'very cheery, pleasant woman, intelligent and bright, docile and not quarrelsome. Breath sweet, and no offensive smell from body.'[113] Likewise, Weltomo was a 'very gentle and quiet woman. No offensive smell from body or breath.'[114] There is an especially close correlation between docility and a pleasant smell: while only a few of the 'well-disposed' women smell bad, all who are described as irritable also stink.[115]

In Portman's measurements of male Andamanese, the connections between the aesthetics of the body and the politics of the clearing are more overt and complex. While the criteria of measurement are much the same, considerably more attention is paid to the person's 'temperament,' his political status and relations with Port Blair (including his job), the size of the penis, and his libido. Riwa, a man of about 44, is described as:

> Very intelligent. To the Government Interpreter for the North Andaman Group of Tribes. Fond of gaiety and dancing. Violent tempered, and hectoring disposition. Penis and left testicle normal. Right testicle small and atrophied. Very lustful. Slight offensive smell from body and breath. Temperament nervous-sanguine.[116]

Kaunmu, a 41-year-old man, is

> Quiet, good tempered disposition. He is Chief of his Tribe, and was one of the first to establish friendly relations between Europeans and the aborigines of the North Andaman. Genitals fully developed. Temperament sanguine.[117]

Lending support to Pratt's notion of 'bodyscape' in the colonial gaze, male genitalia appear to have been a particular point of fascination for Portman and Molesworth.[118] One man is described as having 'atrophied testicles, both

being hard, but the size of hedge-sparrow's eggs.' The same individual is also marked by the observation: 'Penis small, with moderate size prepuce.'[119] 'Penis larger than usual' summarizes a man named Churkho.[120] Tli is described as the chief of Interview Island and a man of considerable authority and intelligence, but also equipped with a bad temper and genitals that are 'fully developed but small.'[121]

A great deal of manhandling must have gone into these examinations, which are roughly contemporaneous with the aggressive and controversial examination of plague suspects in Bombay.[122] In both situations, touching the body of the colonized in an ambiguous manner that is simultaneously sexual and medical constituted a powerful new technique for the deployment of power in politically contested terrain. Being 'chiefs' had not exempted Kaunmu and Tli from having their genitals handled and measured. It is worth noting that when tribal 'chiefs' were photographed ceremonially (in formal pictures with Portman or in images intended to represent them as chiefs), they wear rudimentary skirts, but when they participate in Portman's measuring exercises, they are stripped.[123] If anything, their status as chiefs and roles as objects of measurement were intertwined in a relationship of mutual reinforcement: both were reliant on, and signs of, the approval of the colonizer.

When it came to physical examinations, tame savages – even chiefs – could be expected to be more compliant than nationalized and semi-nationalized patients in Bombay. Occasionally they might be sulky and bad-tempered, but the very fact that they had submitted to measurement and recording rendered them docile, demonstrated their defeat, and permitted the generation of knowledge about body, race and culture. Resistance, where it was evident, was transformed into a moral or emotional inclination: a man caught in calipers and fondled by the OC-Andamanese was effectively denuded of the capacity for meaningful opposition, especially when that moment was edited photographically. Even when the individual was acknowledged to possess a measure of authority in the Andamanese world, or a large penis, those were appropriated by the measuring colonizer.

As in Portman's photographs, the eroticized body on the Traveler's Anthropometer was not stable in its docility: it lent itself easily to the colonizer's fantasies of losing control. Portman observed that Bulubulla, a 38-year- old male from Kyd Island, was:

> Of very nervous, irritable temperament, and the cleverest man in the Islands, of which he is the Government 'Prime Minister.' Quick tempered, active, proud, and impatient of contradiction. Exercises considerable authority over other Andamanese. Rather lustful. Very long prepuce. Brave. A good runner, and jumper, and swimmer.[124]

Biala, aged 28, was

> taller than the average Andamanese. Of considerable personal strength, very lustful disposition. Very bad tempered, and is of a savage and a treacherous nature. Brave for an Andamanese, a good runner. Very intelligent. Never happy unless either working at his own affairs, or merrymaking. Penis unusually large.[125]

Biala, in other words, is not a willing worker within even the uncivilized labor regime of Portman's clearing. This, in addition to his lust and his measurements, produces him as especially savage, and it is significant that Portman does not hold back from deploying the trope of treachery.

Portman seems to have established a connection between male libido and insubordination. For an aboriginal man to be designated as 'lustful,' in this context, signified sexual agency and autonomy: his refusal to restrict himself to a heterosexual relationship with one aboriginal, female partner that Portman had selected or approved. Portman's determination to arrange the marriages of his protégés echoed the efforts of his Australian predecessors and counterparts to 'arrange' – and thus to control and to live vicariously – the sexual lives of aborigines.[126] Portman was persistently troubled by evidence of homosexual relationships between convicts and Andamanese males; in his rendering, these relationships are always between predatory convicts and innocent aborigines.[127] There is no reference in the entire body of his work to homosexual relationships between the Andamanese. While this perception of the sexual lives of aborigines reflects British political, social and sexual competition with male Indian convicts, it also indicates Portman's investment in a passive, virginal and obedient model of savagery.[128]

Not surprisingly, sexual autonomy functioned as a metaphor of anxiety in a wider concern with political control in the Andamans. What bad smell signified in the female body, lust (in combination with other signs) signified in the male, not least because Portman's homoeroticism invested the male body with a directly sexual/political set of meanings. Aboriginal men who posed problems of order and authority are typically described as being lustful. Bie, from Long Island, can thus be:

> Very bad tempered and violent. Very intelligent. Above the average height, and both mentally and physically a leading man among the Andamanese. Very lustful.[129]

Daura is 'rather quarrelsome and self-willed . . . not intelligent . . . [and] . . . very sensual,' while Buricher is 'Quarrelsome and bad tempered [and] very lustful.'[130] Biala (not to be confused with the Biala mentioned previously) is

of a 'Quarrelsome and deceitful disposition, very lustful,' and a carrier of peculiar prurient possibilities: 'Penis circumcised accidentally. (When young he slipped down a lofty tree, the bark of which tore the skin off.)'[131]

In sharp contrast is Portman's description of a relatively likable man named Woichela, who is:

> Exceptionally plucky and brave. (Allowed me to fire at a small pot on his head, with an iron-pointed arrow.) Very good-tempered. Breath sweet. Not very lustful. Penis unusually large. Both testes well-formed. Is of average strength. Very obedient. All senses normal. Intelligent. Truthful. Affectionate.[132]

Getting Woichela to 'pose' for the William Tell act that produced his distinguishing qualities was doubly an act of authority on the part of the playful anthropologist. In all these cases, an explicit equation is made between being a 'good Andamanese' and having a particular cluster of qualities: obedience, sexual passivity, intelligence and a physique that Portman finds aesthetically pleasing.

The lack of lust in men is thus an aspect of the desirable docility of the tame savage, and Portman is eager to represent it as the Andamanese norm: 'not being naturally of a very lustful nature,' he writes, 'sexual passion does not enter largely into their lives.'[133] This rhetorical act of castration contradicts Man's observation of the prevalence of a typically savage 'unchastity' among young aborigines, and the somewhat inconsistent remark that 'human nature . . . is the same the world over, and boys will be boys even in the Andamanese jungles.'[134] It does not, however, contradict Portman's own erotic interest, since the good savage is properly the object, not the subject, of the erotic gaze. Lustful behavior on the part of the savage towards convicts or even other Andamanese is disruptive of the authority of the anthropologist/king: it breaks up the direction of erotic pleasure, renders dynamic and unmanageable the stillness of erotic contemplation (or a photographic exercise with slow, primitive cameras), and injects the potential problem of savage lust being directed towards white women[135] – or men, which is even more threatening.

Although Portman is most comfortable with males who can be described as lust-free by age or nature, comfort is not the sole constituent of eroticism in the savage encounter, and a measure of discomfort and danger is a vital ingredient of Portman's pleasure. The case of the accidentally circumcised but libidinous Biala indicates that even the mutilated savage body could be a source of sexual pleasure. Mebul, a man described as 'lustful . . . , ill tempered, quarrelsome, and of a slow and false nature,' is also undeniably attractive, with 'well marked, aristocratic features . . . thin lips and aquiline

nose.'[136] Kala is 'savage and rather cruel . . . false . . . fairly intelligent [and] . . . very lustful,' but 'exceptionally handsome and well, though heavily built.'[137] These men demonstrate the dual nature of one type of eroticized savagery, which is at once attractive and threatening. For Mebul, thin lips and aquiline nose – i.e., unsettling quasi-European features – add to this duality.

We have then at least two kinds of savage bodies in the clearing: on the one hand, the calm, obedient, passive and reassuringly 'average,' and on the other hand the sullen, lustful, frightening and unpredictable, if not deviant. One is only the object of desire; the other is also a desiring subject. Portman's use of the camera – photographing savages and making them photograph him – admits a third, autoerotic creature into the picture in the form of the white actor on the savage stage, and there is a shadowy fourth player in the voyeur in the metropole. These are not disconnected creatures, and all are products of a common fantasy of order and pleasure: the good savage is overtly docile, but the threatening savage and the white actors are also constituted by an implicit docility that is manifested in Portman's authorship and authority.

The interdependency of authority, savagery and pleasure is very evident in the photographs of measurement in progress. The measured bodies in these images include the average as well as the deviant, the obedient as well as the querulous; all have ultimately cooperated and given themselves up to Portman, Molesworth and the British Museum. These pictures, gathered into folders titled 'Full Face and Profile Views,' are very different from the photographs in the 'Typical Heads' series and the images of prettily posed Andamanese at work or play. The subjects represent a wider range of ages: there is a 65-year-old man named Riala, and also a 6-year-old girl named Ilech and a 6-year-old Aka-Charir boy, Buyo. The bodies in this series are not conspicuously sleek, muscular and good-looking. Some show signs of malnutrition. They are posed with arms elevated on a mechanical device which measured elevation against a checkerboard background. In the profile shots, calipers are affixed to the backs of their heads and the smalls of their backs [Figure 6.6].[138]

The subjects are effectively immobilized by the metal contraptions, and the profile images are especially grotesque. Nearly all looked pinned down and bewildered; there is none of the confident self-representation of the head shots. For the adult and teenage males, penises are positioned at the center of the shot. With their juxtaposition of bodies and machines, the measurement photographs are the most explicit manifestations of violence in Portman's savage erotica, both in terms of the exercise of producing the images and of their content. The presence of young children in some of the pictures accentuates the elements of violence and violation, not only because these are

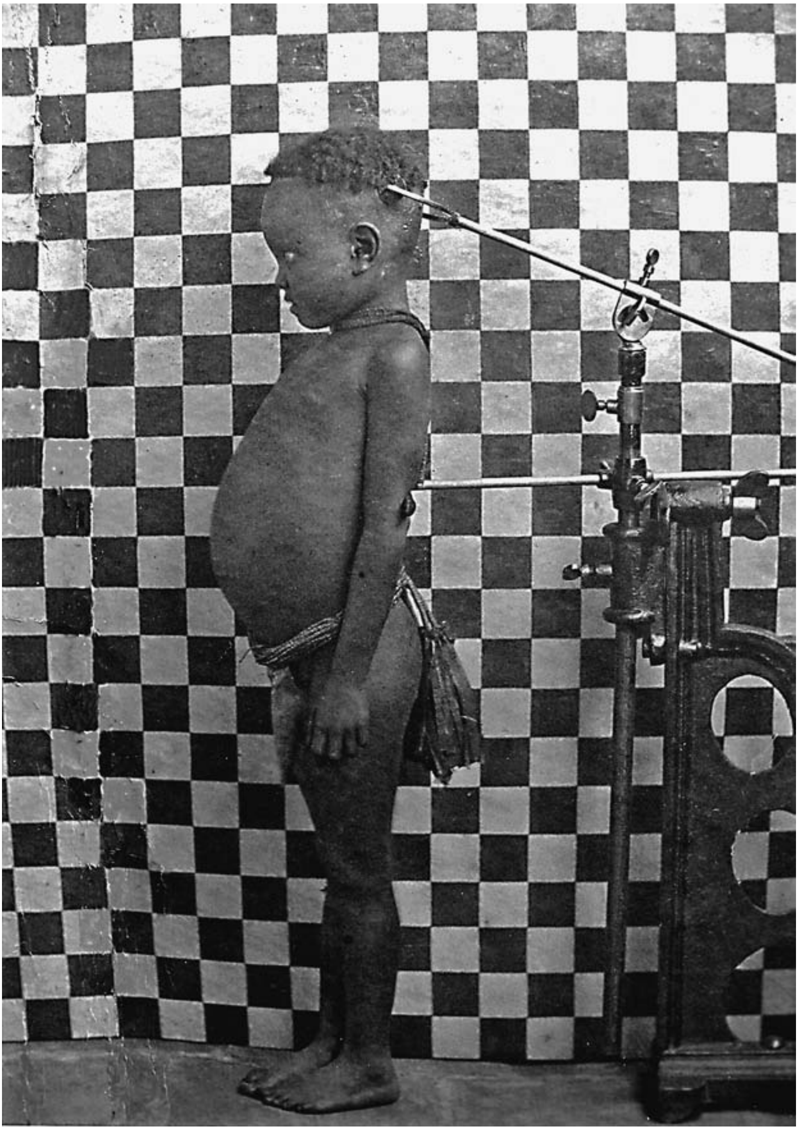

Figure 6.6 Ilech.

unambiguously children, but because they are the children of others. It is analogous to the rape of relatives as a technique of counterinsurgency or war, deploying power simultaneously over the immediate object of control and the normative 'possessor' of the object.[139] But the violent exercise serves also as its own disguise, because the production of biological difference through colonial ethnography and photography was, among other things, the production of bodies that experienced violence, pain and restraint 'differently' (and negligibly), exonerating the colonizer in the process.[140]

Conclusion

The erotics of the savage encounter in the Andaman Islands in the late nineteenth century constitute a technique of power that locates the eccentric/deviant within a larger, 'normal,' colonial experience. Portman was not the first Briton to take an erotic interest in Andamanese bodies: Mouat had found them to be 'the most perfectly formed little beings in existence,' and the craniologist J. Barnard Davis had found Andamanese skulls and skeletons to be 'most beautifully proportioned.'[141] Portman, however, integrated this fascination into the practice of governance, and into a decadent modality of *being* a colonizer among desirable savages. Portman's ascetic/celibate homoeroticism – like colonial homoeroticism generally – was both a quirk – i.e., a delinquency facilitated by the clearing – and a normative mechanism for the management of sex and sexualities in a colony. It generated the possibilities as well as the limits of desire, creating erotic bodies and rituals for colonizers who possessed sufficient self-control to maintain the 'virginity' of the passive savage, while marginalizing or transfixing those that were dangerous to the order of race, gender and class in the colony: native men who showed sexual or political initiative, subaltern white males, women. It differentiated between the chastely delinquent pleasures of aesthete-scientists and the predatory delinquency of lustful natives; between the aesthetics of obedience and normalcy on the one hand, and insubordination and freakishness on the other. It authoritatively reconciled in the body of the savage the comfort and the discomfort of the colonizer: his sense of norm and deviance, his desire for the passive as well as the aggressive, his investment in the familiar and universal as well as the shocking and peculiar.

Conclusion

Beyond the clearing

> Our existence . . . was a sort of midsummer night's dream without Titania.
>
> Mouat, 1863

> My city background made me eager to enter the forest, but a sense of fear overpowered curiosity and kept me tied to the then strange campmates with whom I was living.
>
> Pandya, 1993

In the course of the second settlement, the British brought dogs to the Andamans. These were adopted by aborigines, who made them into pets and hunting companions. The logistics of the adoptions are murky: while some dogs were gifted to the Andamanese by administrators engaged in 'friendly intercourse,' others were introduced into the jungle by convicts.[1] In some cases, we are told, the dogs themselves took the initiative, overcoming their dread of savages, developing a preference for aboriginal masters, and abandoning both whites and Indians.[2] The Andamanese gave them subversive names like Jack and Billy.[3] The savage encounter of the dogs is an unreliable discourse narrated by a faltering colonial authority and interrupted by shadowy colonial subjects, in which the attempt to tame and appropriate produces wildness, uncertain ownership, and delinquent identities and relationships.

Such delinquency defined the clearing and the marginal colony. When the convict-memoirist Jafar Thanesari returned to the mainland in 1883, he looked back upon the world he had left behind in the Andamans:

> What a wonderful place this is! I think there is no other place in the world where so many races live together. Try to imagine a Bengali man married to a Madrasi woman, or a Bhutia man married to a Punjabi woman. The spouses do not understand each other's language, and when they fight, each is incomprehensible to the other. When there is a wedding, and

> women from different regions, each wearing the clothes of her homeland, gather to sing songs in their own languages and dance in their own way, it is a marvelous scene to see. Restrictions of caste and region, from which all of India suffers, are totally absent here. You will find a Pasi woman in a Brahmin's house, and a Brahmin woman in a Jat's house.[4]

The Maulana neglected to mention Dudhnath Tewari, living with Lipa and Jigah in the 'house' of a savage, and the savages in the 'homes' of sahibs. Thanesari was, of course, writing about convict society, but his sense of wonder – an awareness of norms emerging from shocking improvisations and seclusions – is inseparable from the intrusive and intruded-upon aboriginal world. The civilization that he had inhabited was imaginable and permissible only because it bordered upon savagery.

Likewise, savagery could exist only in, and at the edge of, civilization. This edge could variously be Little Andaman, or 'the Andamans,' or Spence's Hotel. Here, the savage existed as an un-translated entity that was nevertheless the focus of shifting and contested performances of translation: performances that were also spectacles, experiments and experiences. They produced gibberish, like Mouat's shouts of 'Padoo!' on the seashore, the howling of the ventriloquist in Calcutta and the Dickens quote with which this book begins. This was, however, powerful gibberish that gave speech and sight to modern Munchausens in the jungle. It enabled the imagination, enjoyment and communication of a semi-hidden world of barely controlled transformations in which disquieting mongrels emerged: dog-headed cannibals, ex-Indian dogs with European names and aboriginal masters, lost Africans, treacherous Jarawa, runaway patients, giant Brahmins with tiny aboriginal wives and half-breed children, prime ministers with large penises and chastely libidinous imperialists.

Savagery could be found in the Andamans whenever Europeans set foot in the Islands, in the sense that there was no definitive moment of arrival and invention. Each arrival was preceded by a borrowed history of savage encounters. 'The inhabitants . . . have *always* been considered one of the most savage races,' Mouat wrote upon reaching the islands on the Ark-like *Pluto*, with a crew that seemed to summarize all of civilization.[5] Like Thanesari, Mouat represented his group as a collective rendered extraordinary not only by what was within its circle, but by its proximity to what lay immediately outside. Savages were not simply wondrous themselves, they made civilization wonderful. They enabled a society that was threatening and wild but also quite normatively colonial, and they remained ubiquitous when Britain had consolidated its regime in the archipelago.

In the closing decades of the nineteenth century, Andamanese savages were not the Calibans that greeted Marco Polo, Blair and even Mouat. They

were simultaneously dwindling and thriving: dying, but in a great proliferation of mutations. The overarching categories of the cannibal monster, the treacherous enemy and the eroticized fetish had splintered into innumerable, interrelated and often conflicting pieces. The categories themselves had become codes for holding this savage multitude together in what was both a practice and a pretense of governance. Produced by multiple, disjointed and relentlessly experimental British-Indian encroachments into the jungle, and by the parallel dynamics of exposure (to the scientific-administrative gaze) and secrecy (the jungle, distance from civilization, insularity), the savage was a symptom not only of 'power failures' and cross-purposes within the colonial regime, but of remarkably successful compromises and adaptations on its margins.

What remains of the savage now that Britain has left the jungle? The residue is a ideological and administrative dilemma: the difficulty of publicly reconciling the poetics of secret pleasure with a prosaic world in which margins and mutations are illegitimate. The problem is rooted in the very idea of aboriginality. Aboriginality is a political construction initiated by non-aborigines, and in India, where there is no significant settler colonialism, the concept of the *adivasi* is quite painfully contrived.[6] It is not coterminous with any consistent thing, such as a particular form of land use, let alone the eponymous idea of 'origin.' It retains a certain value for non-aborigines, but that value is tied up with externality. Prathama Banerjee has argued that right-wing ideologues of Indian nationalism positioned the primitive within the national narrative but outside the national Self as a repository of weakness and prehistory, i.e., as the marker of an original point of transformation.[7] For nationalists of the Left, the (desirable, heroic, colorful) place of the aborigine in the nation[8] is at odds with the processes by which aboriginality is produced, and with the ideology of liberal nationhood. Aboriginality in the nation is far more anomalous than it was in the imperial context.

Homfray, Man and Portman secreted the Andamanese in an empire of dying aborigines. Today, the nearly-extinct status of the Andamanese is a matter of national regret and regret management.[9] From a liberal anti-imperialist perspective, the colonial intervention appears 'ethnocidal' or 'genocidal,' and post-1947 interventions disagreeably quasi-colonial.[10] Vishvajit Pandya has condemned the efforts by the Anthropological Survey of India to subject the Jarawa to a regime of experts and institutions, arguing that the project is oppressive, clumsy and 'ineffective.'[11] His polemic, however, is not so much a critique of the relationship between the expert and the specimen as an allegation of mismanagement. The 'effect' that Pandya wants to see – a healthy aboriginality – is not fundamentally different from what the Anthropological Survey ostensibly desires. Within the framework of that desire, it becomes easy to assume that the Andamanese are becoming

extinct, in spite of the fact – and because of the fact – that there has been 'miscegenation' between the islanders and settlers since the nineteenth century. So the Anthropological Survey attempts to restrict contact between the dying insider (who is an outsider in the nation) and the living outsider (who is the insider in the nation), and its critics remain anxious that this is a losing battle that is being fought badly.[12] The Government of India's attempt to run a 'tribal welfare agency' – the Adim Janajati Vikas Samiti – has faced similar criticism.[13]

The charge of neo-colonial governance is to some degree inevitable. Colonialism, Catherine Hall has observed in an extension of Fanon (and indirectly of Nandy), 'made' the colonizers as well as the colonized.[14] Well-meaning administrators in the 1950s called a Jarawa captive 'Topsy' and educated her to read Nehru's letters to his daughter.[15] The Vikas Samiti shares many of the assumptions and approaches of the Homes.[16] Great Andamanese 'survivors' have been taken to Delhi, introduced to prime ministers and shown (at) the Republic Day parade.[17] Aboriginality in republican India, as in the time of Corbyn and Portman, is a disciplining device located firmly within modernity: a form of exclusion, the articulation of the contingencies of inclusion, and in some situations, a platform for negotiation.

Colonial and national projects of discipline are not, however, geared towards identical ends. The disciplined aborigine was oxymoronic in the colonial Andamans. White administrators and scientists abandoned the idea of 'civilizing' the islanders almost as soon as they conceded that these were human beings. These same officers were invested in the idea that convicts could be transformed into orderly colonial subjects: not so much because they had internalized the modern panoptic eye (which natives were categorically incapable of doing), but because they could recognize the demands of an externally situated gaze. Bihari or Punjabi peasants could be made to fear that they were being watched. The Andamanese could not. Accordingly, aboriginality in the Andamans was constituted by the inadequacy of discipline and the linguistic improvisation of 'savagery.' Governance had to be structured around 'encounters,' or brief experiences of mastery and exhibitions of mastery and its texts.

In nationalist projects, what Partha Chatterjee has termed the discourse of policy comes with an unavoidable component of the inculcation (and not simply the application) of discipline.[18] This is why the concept of 'the savage' becomes embarrassing in the national context. The aborigine in the nation is the former savage in the empire, who has now been subjected to the transforming expectations of civilization, defined as not only citizenship and cultural affiliation but also self-identification as an aborigine. The self-identified aborigine (who remains the goal of enlightened governance) has understood, and perhaps accepted, some of what has been translated about

him through the intertwined exercises of counterinsurgency, medicine, kidnapping, language study, ethnography, photography, and so on. However incompletely and contingently, he has become aware of his 'origins,' learned that he is indeed the object in the mirror, learned that the museum is in fact a place for the display of wonder, learned to recognize the boundary between the jungle and the settlement, and grasped his alienation from the latter. The ex-savage Self can thus lend itself to a limited – and hence troubling – inclusion in the national polity, and aboriginality can be limited to manageable content such as 'tribal aesthetics' and performing arts that might be incorporated into standardized curricula, parades and ritualized displays on the periphery of the nation.[19]

The administrative ramifications of the shift from imperial/savagery to national/aboriginality are quite dramatic. A colonial ethnologist-administrator like Portman imagined savages as being normatively free, i.e., not chained to the authority of government, text or hegemonic culture. Aboriginality in this older scheme was a *fact* of exclusion from the realm of authority, and its administration was largely about mapping, penetrating and patrolling the zone of exclusion. Policy-makers and scholars of the national era, however, have seen aboriginality as a *problem* of inclusion, and sought to compensate for the problem. Apologists for civilization and a homogenous national culture, who might disdain 'undisciplined' aboriginal attitudes towards sex or alcohol, proceeded on the good republican assumption that they are capable of discipline. Advocates of a relatively accommodating and cosmopolitan nationhood, like Nehru, optimistically expressed the view that tribals are naturally democratic and disciplined, and as such, eligible candidates for membership in the nation.[20] Derived eclectically from Rousseau and Boas, Nehru's notion of the 'democratic' aborigine was quite different from the colonial notion of the 'free' savage: to be democratic was to be disciplined, not just naturally free.[21]

Not surprisingly, observers of national disciplining projects have fretted with a deep unease. 'The regimentation of lines and rectangles' is foreign to aborigines, Verrier Elwin mused unhappily even as he supervised the building of an infrastructure of tribal administration in the NEFA in the early 1960s.[22] The Onge have been abused in the medical care of the state, Pandya has pointed out more recently.[23] The basic problem, however, is not a badly designed jail or a poorly run hospital, but the ideological function of infrastructure and administration. Aboriginality poses challenges for national institutions that it does not pose for imperial institutions, not least because the relationship between existence and exhibition becomes contentious in the former. Whereas the British empire could make a distinction between the exhibit and the observer, the Republic of India cannot. It might try to improvise for the aborigine a niche within the nation and its geography, but

the attempt does not resolve the problem. Portman could take savages on tours of Calcutta, but Elwin ran into trouble when he suggested that 'national parks' be created in India for aborigines as spaces where they would remain 'sovereign.'[24] The irony of seeking sovereignty from the nation in the national park probably did not elude Elwin, but such was the ideological bind.

The aborigine in the nation-state is thus doomed both in the jungle and in the park, particularly if aboriginality is differentiated from peasant-hood. Within the ideology of aboriginality, it is worse to nationalize a 'tribal' than to nationalize a non-tribal peasant, because it is assumed that whereas the peasant is merely being awakened to a dormant identity, the aborigine is being destroyed.[25] Becoming that modern thing, an 'Indian,' is most transformative for people designated as the 'original' Indians, and inseparable from concepts like 'deterioration,' 'demoralization' and 'extinction.' Portman had reached a related conclusion about the danger of contact between Indian convicts and the Andamanese, but he had faced no ideological compulsion towards 'integration.' Portman's clearing was not only more compatible with empire than Elwin's national park was with the nation-state, it was also more compatible with aboriginality.

'Leaving aborigines alone' is far less practical now than it was in Portman's time, and not simply because there is greater pressure on resources from a larger non-tribal population and a more voracious economy. Modern states do not have uniform approaches to the frontier, i.e., to the totality of jungle and clearing that is inseparably tied to the predicament of aboriginality. For an imperial state, politically exempted space has an ideological value: it facilitates various kinds of escape, experimentation, differentiation and fantasy. For a nation-state, however, the major value of frontier space is tied up with its elimination as a frontier. When aboriginality is articulated primarily by the non-aborigine, it remains an aspect of the frontier: a realm beyond the nation that is nevertheless located within its claimed boundaries.

One way out of the dilemma is to seek a compromise: nationalization without civilization, or a refusal to force a choice between aboriginality and nationality. This is the default position of enlightened tribal management in India, and it represents a postponement of the final moment of incompatibility. Aborigines must be protected *temporarily* from the national mainstream, Elwin argued, until they are stronger and the mainstream more enlightened.[26] The underlying assumption is that the aborigine must be *altered* in order to be *preserved*. It is a remarkably schizophrenic formula. On the one hand, it seeks inoculation against the literal and figurative germs of modernity. On the other, it differentiates between two kinds of modernity: one that is expert, sympathetic and Romantic, and another that is vulgar, homogenizing and inept.

Romanticism connects the liberal champion of aboriginality with his or her imperial forebears. The project of reawakening nations at the stroke of

midnight, as much as colonialism in the tropical jungle, is a deeply Romantic undertaking.[27] The simultaneous revitalization of 'nation' and 'folk' in a newly decolonized country is deeply attractive to the nationalist.[28] But when nation, peasantry and aborigine are not coterminous – i.e., when the aboriginal population is not readily a part of the national repertoire of symbols[29] – revitalizing nation and aborigine within the same scheme becomes deeply problematic. Whereas Romantic imperialism can provide a shelter for the savage, Romantic nationalism becomes highly invasive towards the aborigine. Indian nationalism, more than European nationalisms, has struggled to find the Volkisch among the Volk, and to reconcile aboriginality with the Volkisch.[30] As Sangari has pointed out, it is impossible to valorize a 'folk' that is hybrid as well as contingent.[31] So whereas Portman could seek to 'revitalize' the Andamanese by simply keeping them alive in a condition of Romantic decay, Elwin had to renegotiate the relationship between the tribe and the Volk by imagining a contrarian nationalism. It is not surprising that he faced the charge of separatism. Nobody accused Portman of trying to take the Andamanese out of the British empire: the more 'separate' he made them from civilization, the more he consolidated their place in the empire.

The place and role of the civilized man who has entered the jungle are inevitably contentious in the nation-state. In both colonial and national experiences with aboriginality, there is a triangular relationship between the expert, the aborigine and the commoner. The expert seeks a privileged location among aborigines: an exclusive residency, the gatekeeper's hut. In both cases, there is a great desire for intimacy with the aborigine. But in national scenarios, such intimacy and exclusivity are especially difficult to achieve, not least because the nation is more normatively panoptic than the colony. More people are entitled to watch (and do watch), and there is more competition for the expert from 'free' commoners. A basic function of colonial aboriginality, the secretion of wonder, becomes untenable in a political space inhospitable to secrecy. Whereas a colonial expert can imagine that he is living among savages, a nationalist cannot fully escape the idea that it is the aborigine who is squatting in the space of the nation. Portman and Corbyn worked within a sharp sense of the reality, if not the legitimacy, of lines between the colony and the jungle. Since then, the jungle has been claimed much more normatively by the nation.

The consequence and legacy of this claim and its pressure upon the expert is a bifurcation in government policy towards aborigines in India: the creation, within the 'charted' nation, of Homi Bhabha's 'wayward, uncharted spaces' where expertise is anxious and even perverse.[32] On the one hand, there is a 'public' theater of policy, in which the state approaches aborigines with the usual instruments of modernity: police, jails, the law, ST status, standardized curricula, agendas of integration. On the other hand, there is a secret theater

and an unfinished project, consisting of tribal reserves and restrictions on the entry of outsiders and the exit of aborigines. Today, for instance, a Jarawa or Onge cannot stroll into Port Blair, let alone Calcutta, without government authorization. While the city undoubtedly poses many dangers to the newly arrived savage, it must be remembered that the Andamanese have in the past experienced and survived – and sometimes failed to survive – the experience of novelty.[33] Such restrictions produce aboriginal territory as a national park, but one from which nationhood and its sightlines, horizons and rituals (such as autonomous movement, to say nothing of political participation) have been substantially excluded. It is not invalid to characterize it as quasi-colonial. It is not invalid, either, to argue that segregation and paternalistic restrictions provide aborigines with protection from the encroaching exploitation of peasants, poachers and other representatives of civilization. Without this broad package of inhibitions, aborigines would not only be dispossessed of their living space, they would cease to exist as aborigines.

The first consequence is obviously damaging, the second is not; yet they are inseparable. What exists in the Andamans today is a kinder, gentler, more civilized approach to savagery than what Portman and his colleagues had developed – hut-burnings and floggings are generally eschewed, and the word 'savage' is avoided – but it must be remembered that Portman himself had set out to create a kinder, gentler regime that might accommodate a trace of savagery within modernity. A 'national' policy that seeks to preserve and sustain aboriginality requires the accommodation and recuperation of 'colonial' practices; the dilemma is woven into the fabric of the liberal nation-state. The aborigine in the nation can thrive only if aboriginality is de-fetishized, abandoned, and then re-invented by the victims of the state for their own purposes, although, as R. K. Nayak has suggested (not entirely intentionally), this inevitably reifies national–statist discourses.[34] The reification of aboriginality by aborigines can then be translated into Jharkhands and Nagalands, which is the conversion of frontiers into alternative civilizations.

Notes

Introduction

1 Charles Dickens, 'The Noble Savage,' quoted in Martin Wiener, *Reconstructing the Criminal*, 33–34.
2 Bernard Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific*, 317–32.
3 See Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic*, 17.
4 The first colony was abandoned (as unhealthy and untenable) in 1796. The second colony was established in 1858 with prisoners from the 'Sepoy Mutiny.' Satadru Sen, *Disciplining Punishment,* passim*;* Clare Anderson, *The Indian Uprising of 1857–58*, 127.
5 On the history of the penal colony, see Sen; also R. C. Majumdar, *Penal Settlement in Andamans*.
6 Satadru Sen, 'Policing the Savage.'
7 K. S. Singh of the Anthropological Survey of India writes that the Andamans are interesting precisely because they contain a fragile racial residue that provides a 'test case for ideas, approach and capacity for effective implementation of . . . tribal policy.' Badal Basu, *The Onge*, i–iii.
8 Radcliffe-Brown traced knowledge of the Andamanese back to ninth-century Arab narratives. Alfred Radcliffe-Brown, *The Andaman Islanders*, 7.
9 Alice Bullard, *Exile To Paradise*, 20–21.
10 RSAI 1866–1867.
11 Henry Maine, *The Effects of Observation of India on Modern European Thought*.
12 Bullard, 110–15, 170.
13 Govt. of Bengal to GOI, February 29, 1856, FDPr 1856.
14 Govt. of British Burma to Govt. of Bengal, February 29, 1856, FDPr 1856.
15 A. Bogle to G. Edmontstone, March 19, 1856, FDPr, 1856.
16 GOI Political Department Proceedings April 1856, memo 37.
17 Satadru Sen, *Colonial Childhoods*, 16–20.
18 F. J. Mouat, *Adventures and Researches Among the Andaman Islanders*, 2.
19 His father was the Viscount Portman of Dorset.
20 Portman obituary, *The Times of London*, February 22, 1935.
21 Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 30.
22 Portman's predecessor E. H. Man and successor M. C. C. Bonington also bore the informal title, albeit without Portman's panache and conviction. F. A. M. Dass, *The Andaman Islands*, 53–58.

23 Henrika Kuklick, *The Savage Within*, 27–74.
24 Ibid., 182.
25 Ibid., 198–99.
26 Ibid., 46–48.
27 Sen, *Colonial Childhoods*, Mills, *Madness, Cannabis and Colonialism*, 29–30; Kuklick, 182–241.
28 Mukhopadhyay, ‘A Brief History of Relationship Between the Jarawas and Others,’ in K. Mukhopadhyay et al., eds., *Jarawa Contact*, 25–42.
29 The Andaman Association is the most prominent example.
30 Vishvajit Pandya, *Above the Forest*, 35–37.
31 Sita Venkateswar, *Development and Ethnocide*.
32 Felix Padel, *The Sacrifice of Human Being*, 64–108. See also Edith Brandstadter, ‘Human Sacrifice and British-Kond Relations,’ in Anand Yang, ed., *Crime and Criminality in British India*, 89.
33 Ramachandra Guha, *Savaging the Civilized*.
34 David Hardiman, ‘Power in the Forest,’ in Arnold and Hardiman, eds., *Subaltern Studies VIII*, 107–8.
35 Mouat, 331.
36 Gananath Obeyesekere, *The Apotheosis of Captain Cook,* 8–22; Marshall Sahlins, *Islands of History*, 104; *How ‘Natives’ Think*, 1–15.
37 See Bullard, 23, 32–37, 272–78; Patrick Brantlinger, ‘Victorians and Africans: The Genealogy of the Myth of the Dark Continent,’ in Henry Louis Gates, ed., *Race, Writing and Difference*, 203.
38 Gananath Obeyesekere, *Cannibal Talk*, 2–14; Peter Hulme, *Colonial Encounters,* 86. On savagism, see Roy Harvey Pearce, *Savagism and Civilization*, 10–31.
39 Marshall Sahlins, ‘Cannibalism: An Exchange.’
40 Geoffrey Sanborn, *The Sign of the Cannibal*, 3–10.
41 Rod Edmonds, *Representing the South Pacific*, 51–62.
42 Cohn, *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge*, 5; Nicholas Dirks, *Castes of Mind*, 43.
43 Crispin Bates, in Peter Robb, ed., *The Concept of Race in South Asia*, Bates, in Robb, 219–46; Dirks, 173; Clare Anderson, *Legible Bodies*; David Arnold, *Colonizing the Body*; Mills, *Madness, Cannabis and Colonialism.*
44 Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions*, 6.
45 Bullard, 2.
46 Ibid., 9–20. A similar tendency to privilege ‘original’ constructions is evident in Kuklick, who sees British notions of savagery as clustered around two conflicting models: Daniel Gookin’s model of fallen societies (that must be repressed by the civilized), and John Locke’s model of societies in a state of harmony (that might be emulated). Kuklick, 1–3.
47 Rudrangshu Mukherjee, *Spectre of Violence*, 24–46; Graham Dawson, *Soldier Heroes*, 87–94; Satadru Sen, ‘Punishment on the Fringes,’ in Sameetah Agha and Elizabeth Kolsky, eds., *Fringes of Empire*.
48 Bullard, 272.
49 Ibid., 31, 33, 57, 62–63.
50 Jayant Lele, ‘Orientalism and the Social Sciences,’ in Carol Breckenridge and Peter van der Veer, eds., *Orientalism and the Postcolonial Predicament*, 46.
51 Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process*, 263–513; Michael Adas, *Machines as the Measure of Men*, 199–210.

52 Even when the OC-Andamanese was a churchman (as were Corbyn, Homfray, E. H. Man and Chard), they were not missionaries and showed little interest in proselytizing. The involvement of the chaplains of Port Blair in the running of the Andaman Homes shows an acceptance on the part of British administrators of a religious component in savagery, but this remained a silent acceptance, partly because colonialism in India after the 'Mutiny' was leery of evangelical governance.
53 Richard White, *The Middle Ground*, 50–93.
54 Ibid.
55 Heidegger's notion of *Lichtung* (clearing/lighting) refers to a space or condition in which the possibilities of the Self and the Other reveal themselves. I use the term to refer to a zone of productive concealment on the margins of both Self and Other. Martin Heidegger, *Being and Time*, 133.
56 Purnima Bose, *Organizing Empire*, 2, 31.
57 Kathleen Wilson, *The Island Race*, 17.
58 *Imperial Gazetteer*, Andaman & Nicobar Islands, 1909, 15. Temple was Chief Commissioner in Port Blair during Portman's final years in the islands.
59 Jurgen Habermas, *The Theory of Communicative Action v. 1*, 9, 301; *On the Pragmatics of Communication*, 228; John Sitton, *Habermas and Contemporary Society*, 41–59.
60 Kuklick, 75–89; Gregory Smithers, *Science, Sexuality and Race,* 70–96.
61 Kumkum Sangari, 'The Politics of the Possible,' in Tejaswini Niranjana et al., eds., *Interrogating Modernity*, 244.
62 Ranabir Samaddar, *Memory, Identity, Power*, 1–3.
63 Brantlinger, in Gates, ed., 212.
64 Wilson, 58–62.
65 Portman, memo to Viceroy, October 17, 1892; N. Horsford to GOI, October 24, 1892, HD 1892.
66 Sandria Freitag, 'Collective Crime and Authority in North India,' in Yang, ed., 141–42.
67 A major exception to this norm is the identification of particular Criminal Tribes, such as the Bhils, for integration into the colonial military.
68 Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality v.1*, 103–31*; Discipline and Punish*, 257–92.
69 Malcolm Nicolson, 'Medicine and Racial Politics: Changing Images of the Maori in the Nineteenth Century,' in David Arnold, ed., *Imperial Medicine and Indigenous Societies*, 66–97. On amalgamation, see also Harold Miller, *Race Conflict in New Zealand*, xxv–xxvii, 159–60, and Robert Owen, *The Wrong of Slavery*, 212–19.
70 Wilson, 5, 55.
71 Ranajit Guha, *History at the Limits of World-history*, 64–65.
72 McClintock, 27; Sanborn, 17.
73 Marco Polo, *Travels of Marco Polo, the Venetian*, 377.
74 Dog-headed natives also surface in Mandeville and can be traced back to Pliny, indicating that it was a generic trope of pre-Columbian travel fantasy. John Mandeville, *The Book of John Mandeville*, 138; Obeyesekere, *Cannibal Talk*, 3.
75 Portman, *A History of our Relations with the Andamanese*, 53–54.
76 Alexander Hamilton, *A New Account of the East Indies*, 36–39.
77 Margaret Hodgen, *Early Anthropology*, 409.
78 Greenblatt, 1–25.

79 Alexander Kyd, Report to GOI, Minutes of the Governor General, 1792.
80 Ibid.
81 'The Travels of Two Muhammedans Through India and China,' *Pemberton's General Collection of Voyages and Travels, v. 7*, 183.
82 James Edward Alexander, *Travels From India to England, Comprehending a Visit to the Burman Empire*, 4–12.
83 M. Quigley, 'Wanderings in the Islands of Interview, (Andaman), Little and Great Coco.' See Portman, 156–58.
84 Mouat, 73; Portman, 158.
85 *Ritchie's Survey of the Andaman Islands,* excerpted in Portman, 98.
86 R. H. Colebrooke journal, reproduced in Portman, 64–65.
87 R. H. Colebrooke, 'On the Andaman Islands,' 385–95.
88 Kyd, Report to GOI.
89 Ibid.
90 Michael Symes, *An Account of an Embassy to the Kingdom of Ava*, 125–38.
91 He notes it only in passing. Portman, 102.
92 James Hevia, *Cherishing Men From Afar*, 85.
93 Wilson, 78.
94 Mouat, 103–43.
95 Ibid., 83.
96 Corbyn to Tytler, July 2,1863, GOI HDPr.
97 Ibid.
98 See William Arens, *The Man-eating Myth*, passim.
99 Bates, in Robb, 255.
100 Sen, *Disciplining Punishment*, 86; Sen, 'Punishment on the Fringes,' in Agha and Kolsky, eds.
101 Portman referred to the Tytler administration of 1863–1864 as being violently 'prejudiced' against the Andamanese, and Tytler was indirectly censured by the Government of India. Portman, 479–81.
102 Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other*, 26.
103 Greg Dening, *Islands and Beaches*, 11.
104 Jane Buckingham, *Leprosy in Colonial South Indiat*, 88–91.
105 Swapan Dasgupta, 'Adivasi Politics in Midnapur,' in Ranajit Guha, ed., *Subaltern Studies IV*, 104.
106 Bullard, 200–1.
107 Sen, 'Punishment on the Fringes,' in Agha and Kolsky, eds.
108 Sen, JAS; GOI HDPr 1858–1863.
109 Ibid, 300–1.
110 M.V. Portman, 'The Exploration and Survey of the Little Andamans,' *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography*, September 1888. Cannibalism could be couched within treachery in the imagination of those who feared being eaten by the inscrutable and unpredictable. See Bullard, 110.
111 Portman, *A History of Our Relations*, 789, 794.
112 Dawson, 87–94.
113 Mouat, 44–52.
114 Ranajit Guha and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, eds., *Selected Subaltern Studies*, 45–84; GOI Home (Ecclesiastical), June 11,1870, 9–11.
115 Ranajit Guha, *History at the Limit of World-history*, 51.

116 On addiction as a policy, see S. R. Tickell, ‘Memoranda relative to three Andamanese,’ 162–73.
117 Ibid.
118 E. H. Man, ‘On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands,’ Part I, 71, 142.
119 Ibid., 92, 100–4.
120 Sen, ‘Policing the Savage.’
121 Portman, 846–75.
122 On hard and soft savagery, see Smith, 132–58. On the centrality of noble and ignoble savages in evolutionist thought, see Ronald Meek, *Social Science and the Ignoble Savage*, 3.
123 See GOI communications with J. C. Haughton, March 1860 and January 1861, HD 1860–1861; Edward Belcher, ‘Notes on the Andaman Islands;’ Mouat, 10.
124 Mary Louise Pratt, ‘The Face of the Country,’ in Gates, ed., 146.
125 Cohn, 76; Paul Greenough, ‘Nation, Economy and Tradition Displayed,’ in Carol Breckenridge, ed., *Consuming Modernity,* 216. On procurement in the Andamans, see C. Baden Kloss, *Andaman and Nicobars*, 21, 33.
126 Tickell, ‘Memoranda.’ On occasion, Andamanese in British hands were given convict-style neck-tickets.
127 AnSI Portman collection, passim.
128 Peter Redfield, *Space in the Tropics*, 1–2.
129 Kuklick, 34.
130 The 1901 census counted 1882 individuals. *Imperial Gazetteer,* 12.
131 Cohn, ‘The Census, Social Structure and Objectification in South Asia,’ in Bernard Cohn, *An Anthropologist Among the Historians*, 224.
132 Radcliffe-Brown speculated that the Andamanese population had been between 5000 and 6000 at the outset of the second settlement. Radcliffe-Brown, 6, 16–19.
133 Smithers, 85–89.
134 Portman, 846–75.
135 Man, 71.
136 Cohn, 9.
137 On Boas, see Lee Baker, *From Savage to Negro*, 120–26, 168–87.
138 Man, 71.
139 Wendy James, ‘The Anthropologist as Reluctant Imperialist,’ in Talal Asad, ed., *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter*, 41.
140 Radcliffe-Brown had no formal administrative authority in the Andamans. Unlike the others, he was a visiting academic, and his authority was further reduced by his ignorance of Andamanese languages. He did, however, benefit from the conditions of governance that the colonial regime had established, and it is fair to say that he was able to borrow its authority – along with its interpreters – for his academic purposes. In addition, in the 1920s, Radcliffe-Brown took on considerable responsibility for training administrators in the management of indigenous people in South Africa and Australia; as such, he developed an indirect governmental role. Kuklick, 48–49, 314.
141 Kloss, a taxonomist and collector, visited the Andamans in 1901. C. Baden Kloss, *Andaman and Nicobars.*

1 Racializing the Andamanese

1 Walker succeeded H. Man, whose responsibilities had more to do with establishing the settlement than administering the penal colony.
2 C. Beadon to J. P. Walker, 8.12.1858, HD 1858, 1079.
3 Margaret Hunt, 'Racism, Imperialism and the Traveller's Gaze.'
4 Patrick Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology*, 43–68; Thomas Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj*, 113–59.
5 Wilson, *The Island Race*, 9.
6 Gautam Chakravarty, *The Indian Mutiny and the British Imagination*.
7 Ann Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire*, 137–64.
8 Edmonds, *Representing the South Pacific*, 8.
9 Sen, *Disciplining Punishment*, 105–6.
10 Elizabeth Elbourne, 'Indigenous People and Imperial Networks in the Early Nineteenth Century,' in Philip Bucknor and Douglas Francis, eds., *Rediscovering the British World*, 60.
11 *Imperial Gazetteer, A & N Islands, 1909*, 13.
12 Radcliffe-Brown, *The Andaman Islanders*, 5–7.
13 Symes, *Embassy to Ava; Ritchie's Survey of the Andaman Islands* (1771), excerpted in Portman, *A History of Our Relations*, 98–99.
14 Hamilton, 36–39.
15 Colebrooke, 'On the Andaman Islands.'
16 Colebrooke writes: '[Oppression] in some degree would . . . account for the rancour and enmity they show, and they would naturally wage perpetual war, with those whom they might suspect, were come to invade their country, or enslave them again' (ibid.).
17 Prathama Banerjee, 'Representing Pasts: Santals in Nineteenth-Century Bengal,' in Partha Chatterjee and Anjan Ghosh, eds., *History and the Present*, 242.
18 Portman, 76–79.
19 Cohn, *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge*, 76.
20 Portman, 38–39.
21 McClintock, 37–39.
22 Sen, *Disciplining Punishment*, 201.
23 Haughton, quoted in Portman, 291–92.
24 Ibid.
25 Ibid.
26 See Chapter 4.
27 RSAI 1860–1861; Portman, 306.
28 On indexicality and anthropology, see Christopher Pinney, 'The Parallel Histories of Anthropology and Photography,' in Edwards, ed., *Anthropology and Photography*, 74.
29 Tickell, 'Memoranda.'
30 Radcliffe-Brown, 5.
31 Sen, *Colonial Childhoods*, 13–20.
32 S. A. St. John, 'Notes From a Day's March into the Interior,' in Edward Belcher, 'Notes on the Andaman Islands,' *Ethnological Society Transactions*.
33 Metcalf, 66–80; Kuklick, 75–118; Bullard, 20.
34 Man, 'On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands,' 80.
35 Ginger Frost, *Promises Broken: Courtship, Class and Gender in Victorian England*, x.

36 RSAI 1864–65. Homfray was Corbyn's successor as OC-Andamanese.
37 Radcliffe-Brown, 17, 21.
38 Portman, 333.
39 Ibid., 687.
40 Radcliffe-Brown, 20.
41 Elizabeth Edwards, 'E.H. Man and the Andamanese,' in Edwards, ed., *Anthropology and Photography*, 115.
42 Man, 71.
43 Portman, 622–24.
44 Mark Harrison, *Climates and Constitutions*, 11–24, 204–14.
45 Portman, 28.
46 J. C. Haughton to A. Bogle, 3.3.1856, GOI, HD 1856.
47 Corbyn, Narrative No. 2, HD 1863.
48 Tickell, op. cit.
49 McClintock, 56–61; Metcalf, 113.
50 *Ritchie's Survey*, in Portman, 98–99.
51 RSAI 1867–1868; F. Day Report, HD, 1870, reprinted in Portman, 467–72.
52 The idea that freed African slaves inevitably degenerate into savagery and criminality was also a part of the American discourse of race in the mid- and late nineteenth century, and arguably beyond. Marlon Riggs, 'Ethnic Notions,' documentary film, 1987.
53 Henry Yule and A. C. Burnell, *Hobson Jobson*, 141–42.
54 *Calcutta Monthly Register*, November 1790, 1.
55 Alexander Kyd, Report to the Government of India, March 1793, excerpted in Portman, 93–97.
56 Man, 75.
57 Colebrooke, op. cit.
58 Brantlinger, 'Victorians and Africans,' in Gates, ed., 185–219.
59 Baker, 14–16.
60 Report of the Andaman Committee, 1.1.1858, HDPr. 1858.
61 Mouat, 275, 286, 339.
62 R. C. Tytler, 'Account of Further Intercourse With the Natives of the Andaman Islands'.
63 On exploration and disorientation, see McClintock, 21–28.
64 Satadru Sen, 'The Orphaned Colony.' Man was also interested in racial differences between the Andamanese and 'natives of India.' He observed that the Andamanese reached sexual maturity later than Indians, and speculated that this had 'some connection with the darkness of skin.' Man, 79.
65 A. Fytche to GOI, 5.28.1861, FDPr. 1861.
66 Man, 74.
67 Thomas Huxley, *Critiques and Addresses*, 152. In the 1870s, Australian aborigines were themselves detached from Africans and affiliated with South Indians. W. H. I. Bleek, 'On the Position of the Australian Languages,' 92.
68 Henry Corbyn, Report to R.C. Tytler, 7.2.1863, HD 1863.
69 St. John, in Belcher, 'Notes on the Andaman Islands.'
70 H. Corbyn to GOI, 10.5.1863, HDPr 1864.
71 Portman, 447.
72 Nancy Stepan, *The Idea of Race in Science*, 45–46.
73 Man, 79–80. Maia Biala was also known as *munshi* Biala.
74 Ibid.

75 Man, who generally saw the Andamanese as entirely distinct from Indians, was willing to entertain physiological similarities between the Andamanese and aboriginal groups on the Indian mainland, such as the Naga. He did not, however, extrapolate common ancestry. Similarity to the Naga only reinforced the aboriginal status of the Andamanese and their externality to 'Indians' (ibid, 91). On passing, see McClintock, 69.
76 A. Fytche to GOI, 5.28.1861, FDPr. 1861.
77 Man, 70, 113, n. 1.
78 Ibid., 70.
79 Kuklick, 49.
80 Portman, 29–34. Portman made the South Sea comparison as part of a rejection: the Andamans were not a hospitable locale for anything so paradisiacal as savages bedecked in flowers.
81 Ibid., 868.
82 *Calcutta Monthly Register* (*India Repository*), November 1790, 15–17.
83 Portman, 103.
84 Elbourne, 59–61.
85 F. J. Mouat, the all-purpose scientist who conducted the first modern investigations of race in the Andamans, was also an admirer and emulator of the French penologist Frederic-August Demetz. Sen, *Colonial Childhoods*, 17.
86 Portman, 209–10.
87 Man, 122. Man's conclusion that Andamanese languages are structurally related to the Tasmanian was based on the work of R. C. Temple, future Chief Commissioner of the Andamans and already active as an amateur anthropologist. At the time, Temple was a cantonment magistrate in Punjab.
88 Ibid., 70, n. 3. Man's knowledge of Tasmanian 'moral and social characteristics' was based on the writings of the surveyor-ethnologist J. E. Calder. The microscopy, performed by Allen Thomson, was confirmed by J. Barnard Davis in 1873. See *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* v. 3 (1874), 7.
89 *The Statesman*, 2.18.1893, 1.
90 A. Fytche to GOI, 5.28.1861, FDPr. 1861.
91 Portman, 309–10.
92 Smithers, 70, 81.
93 L. R. Hiatt, *Arguments About Aborigines*, 6.
94 B. Ford to GOI, 10.2.1867, HDPr. 1868.
95 On Australian aborigines and colonial institutions, see Peggy Brock, *Outback Ghettos*, 11–20.
96 Portman, 865–66.
97 On settler colonialism and race-making in Australia, see Wolfe, 43–68; Smithers, 122–41, 165–90.
98 Tytler to GOI, 5.6.1863, HD 1863; GOI to Tytler, 3.14.1863, HD 1863, 1653. Tytler either deliberately hid Pratt's culpability from the Government of India, or was not fully informed himself until later.
99 White, 1–49.
100 Corbyn, Narrative no. 2, 1863.
101 Corbyn, Narrative no. 3, HD 1864.
102 Portman, 39.
103 Portman, 345.
104 Ibid., 404.
105 Ibid., 432–33.

106 Bhantus transported to the Andamans in the 1920s under the Criminal Tribes Act were reclassified as 'Locals,' partially immersing them in aboriginality. There was, however, no question of merging them with 'the Andamanese.' K. S. Singh, *People of India: Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, 46.
107 Portman, 430–35.
108 Sangari, in Tejaswini Niranjana et al., eds., *Interrogating Modernity*, 244.
109 Kyd, Report to the Government of India.
110 Man was also attempting to rehabilitate the Andamanese in Victorian eyes by ascribing to them a recognizable propriety. Man, 94.
111 Portman, 624.
112 Man was generally skeptical about discoveries of dramatic physical peculiarity: when Dobson remarked that there was an extraordinary difference in size between male and female Andamanese, Man responded that Dobson had simply measured an unusually tall man and a very short woman. Man, 72–73.
113 Portman, 27–28.
114 Stoler, 111–13; Sen, 'The Orphaned Colony.'
115 RAH 1891–92.
116 Sen, *Colonial Childhoods*, 143.
117 Portman, 33–34.
118 A.S. Thomson, *The Story of New Zealand*, v. 2, 283.
119 Portman, 33–34.
120 Ibid., 872.
121 Man, 115–16.
122 Chakravarty, 74.
123 J. C. Haughton, 'Papers relating to the aborigines of the Andaman Islands,' 263–67.
124 Corbyn, Narrative no. 1, HD 1863.
125 Corbyn, Narrative no. 2.
126 Bullard, 5. While Bullard emphasizes the civilizing inclinations and frustrations of modernity, colonialism in the Andamans (and elsewhere, including the metropolitan underbelly) gives support to Foucault's observation that delinquency/savagery is a carefully nurtured demographic within the modern. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 257.
127 Mouat, 200.
128 Dening conceptualized the (largely metaphorical) beach as both a barrier and a privileged zone of cultural contact, and the explorers' ship as a mobile beach. Greg Dening, *Islands and Beaches*, 3, 31–34, 95–124.
129 Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic*, 12. Mouat's companions included 'self-dependent Anglo-Saxons, active and fiery Celts, fair Norsemen, stout Finlanders, swarthy Italians, and Maltese,' along with Africans, Chinese, Burmese, Malays, Malabaris and Bengalis. Mouat, 78.
130 Mouat, 108–9, 112, 128. On the colonial fetish of mirrors, see McClintock, 217–19.
131 Testimony of Naval Brigadesman Hamilton, March 1863, excerpted in Portman, 364–65.
132 Kenneth Ballhatchet, *Race, Class and Sex Under the Raj*, 96–122.
133 Portman, 408.
134 Ibid, 771–801.
135 Ibid, 445.
136 Man, 95.

137 Ibid.
138 Metcalf, 34–59.
139 Portman, 33–34.
140 See Chapter 6.
141 The concept of 'middle age' should be treated with caution. At the time of Portman's writing, it was not uncommon for the Andamanese to live into their fifties or even sixties. ANSI Portman collection, v. 10–13.
142 Sen, *Colonial Childhoods*, 58–60.
143 James Cook, *Voyage to the South Pole*, 241.
144 Portman, 45.
145 Ibid., 873–75.
146 H. Hopkinson to W. Grey, 2.8.1865, GOI HD Public Consultations, 8.6.1858.
147 RSAI 1859–60, HD 1860.
148 Corbyn to Tytler, 7.2.1863, HD 1863.
149 H. Kinsey Narrative, 11.20.1861 (excerpted Portman, 445–46).
150 Portman, 291–92.
151 Homi Bhabha, 'Of Mimicry and Man,' in Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 121.
152 Minutes of the GG in C, 5.9.1868, HD 1868.
153 E.H. Man to GOI, 6.9.1869, HD 1869.
154 RSAI 1867–68.
155 On turn-of-the-century anxieties about the ill-effects of civilization, see John Springhall, *Youth, Empire and Society*, 110–20.
156 On the education of Andamanese children at the Homes, see Sen, 'The Orphaned Colony'.
157 A. P. Phayre to GOI, April 1865, HD 1865.

2 Counterinsurgency and the jungle

1 Ranajit Guha, *Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India*, 1–17; David Arnold, *Rebellious Hillmen*, in Guha, ed., *Subaltern Studies I*, 88.
2 Portman, *A History of Our Relations*, 278–79.
3 Mouat, 34, 37.
4 Sen, *Disciplining Punishment*, 98–109; Satadru Sen, 'Domesticated Convicts: Producing Families in the Andaman Islands,' in Indrani Chatterjee, ed., *Family and History in South Asia*, 261–91.
5 'Great Andaman is . . . principally an assemblage of steep Ridges with Ravines, Swamps or Valleys between them. Few places would admit of being cultivated in the European stile [sic],' Blair observed. Blair to Cornwallis, 6.9.1789, R.C. Temple, ed., *Selections from the Records of the GOI*, HD Serial 30, 1903.
6 Wolfe, 2–3.
7 Ibid., 168.
8 Dirks, 125.
9 In 1865, Homfray fantasized about integrating the aborigines into a racially mixed society of Indian and Andamanese peasant cultivators, but the idea was immediately dismissed by Port Blair, and Portman viewed it with horror. Portman, 490.
10 'There was something poetical in the retributive justice that thus rendered the crimes of an ancient race the means of reclaiming a fair and fertile tract of land from the neglect, the barbarity, and the atrocities of a more primitive, but scarcely less cruel and vindictive race,' Mouat wrote. Mouat, 45, 147.

11 Wolfe, 1–3, 166–68.
12 'Their behavior was so excessively wild and contradictory that I found it impossible to sum it with any degree of certainty [but] their good nature appeared . . . predominant,' Blair wrote Cornwallis on April 19,.1789. On June 9,1789 he reported skirmishes indicating 'the ferocious disposition of the Natives.' On April 18,1792, he reverted to the conclusion that the Andamanese were 'perfectly inoffensive.' *Selections from the Records of the GOI*, HD 30 (1903).
13 GOI to Kyd, February 18,1893, *Selections from the Records of the GOI*, HD 30 (1903).
14 *Briton* survivors' memoirs, excerpted in Portman, 142.
15 Ibid., 143.
16 A. Brookings, 'An Old Tale of the Southwest Monsoon.'
17 John Dower, *War Without Mercy*, 94–117.
18 GOI memo, March 9,1858, HD (Judicial) 1858, 1–2.
19 J. P. Walker, Report to GOI, March 1858, HD 1858.
20 Walker to Home Dept., September 4, 1858, HD 1858, 304.
21 Ibid.
22 Richard Drinnon, *Facing West*, 212–21.
23 Walker to Home Dept., September 4, 1858, HD 1858, 304.
24 Drinnon, 131–64; Wolfe, 3. On the inadequacy of Turner-derived concepts of the frontier, see Wolfe, 168–79.
25 Portman, 257, 259.
26 On violence as a spectacle of power in the Mutiny, see Rudrangshu Mukherjee, *Spectre of Violence*, 41–46.
27 GOI to Walker, December 3, 1858, HD 1858, 1823.
28 GOI to Kyd, 2.18.1793, *Selections from the Records of the GOI*, HD 30 (1903).
29 Lord Canning, Governor-General of British India during the Mutiny and its immediate aftermath, was widely ridiculed by Anglo-Indians for his perceived leniency towards the defeated rebels.
30 GOI to J. C. Haughton, March 1, 1860, HD 1860, 436.
31 Haughton to W. Grey, January 10, 1861, HD 1861, 67.
32 Haughton to GOI, June 30, 1860, HD 1860.
33 Ibid.
34 GOI to R.C. Tytler, March 14, 1863, HD 1863, 1653.
35 GOI to Tytler, June 19,1863, HD 1863, 4013.
36 Jayanta Sarkar, *The Jarawa*, ix.
37 Henry Corbyn, Narrative No. 2, HD 1863.
38 Ibid.
39 Portman, 440.
40 Corbyn, Narrative No. 3, HD 1864.
41 Portman, 471.
42 Ibid, 603.
43 Ibid.
44 Ibid, 288–89.
45 Corbyn, Narrative No. 2.
46 Portman, 405.
47 Wolfe, 170; Drinnon, xxviii–xxix.
48 Portman, 751–52.
49 Vishvajit Pandya, 'Movement and Space: An Andamanese Cartography,' 775–97.

50 Redfield, 82, 100–2.
51 Portman, 288–93.
52 RAH 1882–1883, 1883–1884.
53 Portman, 288–93.
54 David Hardiman, ‘Power in the Forest,’ in Arnold and Hardiman, eds., *Subaltern Studies VIII*, 90–91; Alfred Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism*, 171–94.
55 Portman, 313–14.
56 RAH 1882–83.
57 In 1839, a Russian named Helfer led an expedition to the Islands to prospect for gold, and was killed by the Andamanese. Mouat, 39–40.
58 Henry Hopkinson to Foreign Dept. (GOI), February 8, 1856, HDPr August 6, 1858.
59 Corbyn, Narrative No. 2.
60 Bullard, 30–50; Mary Louise Pratt, ‘Scratches on the Face of the Country,’ in Gates, ed., 138–62.
61 That conflation has been eroded by subsequent anthropologists; Basu acknowledges Portman but doubts that the Jarawa, Onge and Sentinelese were all ‘one people.’ Basu, *The Onge*, 4. Pandit is similarly vague, but concedes the possibility of a close relationship between the Jarawa and the Sentinelese. T. N. Pandit, *The Sentinelese*, 12–14.
62 Paul Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay*, 84–85; Pratt, in Gates, 141–45.
63 RAH 1894–1895.
64 Portman dismissed the use of conventional armed forces in jungle warfare as ‘absurd,’ arguing that the Jarawa were too elusive. RAH 1895–1896.
65 It is likely that the Great Andamanese utilized the colony’s war on the Jarawa as an opportunity to attack rival aborigines. Jayanta Sarkar, 45–46.
66 RAH 1895–96.
67 Ibid.
68 The vision of a counterinsurgency of science predated Portman. Belcher mentions Helfer’s visit to the Islands ‘for scientific purposes’ in 1840 and his killing by ‘a savage concealed behind a bush,’ who was then immediately shot by Helfer’s widow, who pulled a pistol from her girdle in a scene evocative of heroic Mutiny narratives. Belcher, ‘Notes on the Andaman Islands.’
69 Carter, 34–68, 153–55.
70 Ibid., 76, 165, 308.
71 The cutting of tracks was part of Mouat’s search for the remains of the first settlement. Mouat, 107.
72 R. H. Colebrooke, notes from 1789–1790, reproduced in Portman, 64–65.
73 Alexander, 4–12.
74 McClintock, 30, 138, 217.
75 Corbyn, Report to Tytler, July 2,1863 (Narrative No. 1), HD 1863.
76 Carter, 95.
77 Corbyn, Narrative No. 2, HD 1863.
78 Corbyn, Narrative No. 4, 1864, reproduced in Portman, 706–7.
79 Ibid.
80 Carter, 45–47; McClintock, 28.
81 Portman, 594.
82 Ibid., 790–91.
83 RSAI 1866–1867.
84 On British understandings of the tribe in South Asia, see Metcalf, 130.

85 RSAI 1866–1867.
86 RAH 1894–1895.
87 Portman, 726–33.
88 Ibid., 64–65. 'Mincopie' was probably derived from 'Monacaboes,' described by Hamilton as 'a barbarous savage People' situated near Malacca. Hamilton, 44–45.
89 Man, 71.
90 Portman, 228–29.
91 Mukhopadhyay et al., eds, 25–42.
92 RAH 1893–1894.
93 Alfred Radcliffe-Brown, 'The Social Organization of Australian Tribes,', 34. Portman imagined the Jarawa as small, elusive clusters of families (RAH 1894–1895), foreshadowing Radcliffe-Brown's invention of the 'horde' as a conceptual unit linking family, territory and clan. While the notion of 'Jarawa country' is vaguer than Radcliffe-Brown's horde/territory, it constitutes similar simultaneous realizations of social identity and political space in savagery. The 'horde' does not appear in Radcliffe-Brown's book on the Andamanese, but he was, of course, aware of Portman's work.
94 RAH 1894–1895.
95 RAH 1867–1868.
96 RSAI 1872–1873. Stewart was compressing the Onge into his idea of the 'Juddah.'
97 Portman, 40.
98 RAH 1890–1891, 1891–1892, 1892–1893, 1893–1894.
99 RAH 1894–1895.
100 Dirks, 198.
101 Even Homfray, who eschewed the aggressive machismo of Corbyn and Portman, complained about the Andamanese fondness for shoot-and-run warfare, writing that 'they never stand up to a regular fight.' RAH 1866–1867.
102 Dawson, 79; Metcalf, 105–6; Mrinalini Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity*, 33.
103 Colebrooke, 'On the Andaman Islands.'
104 Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 39, 67–83.
105 Report of the Andaman Committee, January 1,1858, HD 1858.
106 Mouat, 75.
107 Mouat, 27.
108 Cohn, 7.
109 Ibid. The leaving of presents (which also functioned as bait) remained a feature of counterinsurgency in the Andamans well into the anti-Jarawa operations at the end of the century, and of anthropological outreach into the present time. RAH 1894–1895, 1895–1896, Basu, 4–5.
110 Mouat, 238–90.
111 Quigley, 'Wanderings in the Islands of Interview, (Andaman), Little and Great Coco,' 1850, excerpted in Portman, 156–57.
112 Corbyn, Narrative No. 1.
113 RAH 1866–1867, 1867–1868.
114 Corbyn, Narrative No. 1.
115 Portman, 730, 752–53.
116 Ibid., 799–800.
117 While British administrators realized that the Akabeada and the Onge spoke

different languages, there seems to have been an expectation that savagery itself would function as a language, allowing them to communicate.

118 RAH 1880–1881.
119 Mouat, 93.
120 Portman, 795–96. Parentheses in original.
121 Report of the Andaman Committee; Colebrooke, 'On the Andaman Islands.'
122 'We were unable to make them comprehend a single word we used.' Mouat, 32.
123 Ibid., 26.
124 Tytler to Corbyn, June 30,1863, HD 1863, 99.
125 Corbyn, Narrative No. 2.
126 Corbyn, Narrative No. 3.
127 RSAI 1865–1866.
128 Ibid.
129 Portman, 772.
130 Corbyn, Narrative No. 1.
131 Ibid.
132 Portman, 815–16.
133 Frances Robertson, 'The Forgotten Islands,' MSS EUR. F209. The child, renamed Tony West after his kidnapper, was sent off to school in Ranchi, where he 'shows a violent temper and eats earth.' F. A. M. Dass, *The Andaman Islands*, 53–58.
134 Pandit, 10–11; Jayanta Sarkar, 47.
135 Dening, 18.
136 Dawson, 79–116.
137 RAH 1893–1894.
138 Mouat writes that he vetoed Playfair's wish to collect the heads of the Andamanese killed by the expedition. Ironically, Mouat himself took Andamanese bones back to the mainland for further study. Mouat, 28, 255, 334.
139 Corbyn, Narrative No. 2.
140 Portman, 422.
141 RAH 1894–1895.
142 D. M. Stewart, Report to GOI, April 15,1873, HD 1873, 58.
143 W. L. Much, report of expedition to Little Andaman, 1867, reproduced in Portman, 775–78.
144 RAH 1880–1881.
145 Portman, 265.
146 Cecil Beadon to Walker, August 12,1858, HD 1858, 1079.
147 Wimberley took an Andamanese girl to New Zealand, where she died. RAH 1891–1892.
148 Stewart, Report to GOI, April 15, 1873.
149 RAH 1884–1885.
150 Portman, 674–75.
151 RAH 1894–95, 1895–1896.
152 Ibid.
153 Kuklick, 194–99; Eric Stokes, *The English Utilitarians in India*, 140–233.
154 Radhika Singha, *A Despotism of Law*, 229–84.
155 Portman, 494.
156 RAH 1885–1886.
157 Mukherjee, 52–62.

158 One officer described an Andamanese captive miming being shot with a rifle. Hellard, 'Notes on the Andamanese Captured at Port Blair.'
159 Portman, 797.
160 This use of Goanese sailor-violinists had first been contemplated by Mouat during his voyage to the islands in 1857. The function was similar: Mouat 'anticipated wonders from the war-dance with which we intended to gratify the natives.' Unfortunately, the violinist revealed himself to be a drunk and was placed in the stocks before he (or Mouat) could perform. Mouat, 65–66.
161 Ibid.
162 Douglas Kerr, 'Three Ways of Going Wrong,' 18.
163 E. M Collingham, *Imperial Bodies*, 7–10.

3 Clearings of the kidnapped

1 Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 321.
2 Brock, *Outback Ghettos*, 5–8, 24, 28; James H. Mills, *Madness, Cannabis and Colonialism*, 132–40.
3 Symes, 125–38.
4 Ibid.
5 Mouat, 29.
6 Ibid., 255.
7 'Several of the natives have been carried off to gratify unwarrantable curiosity,' Blair wrote, 'and others have been entrapped and sold for slaves.' He was referring to the supposed Malay habit of kidnapping Andamanese, but could not escape the connection between that behavior and British 'curiosity' in the islands. Administrators in Calcutta themselves made the connection: Kyd was ordered in 1793 to ensure that there was no 'commerce' in aborigines by Malays and (in the same letter) to abstain from 'Illtreatment or Violence of any Sort whatever.' GOI to Kyd, February18,1793, in Temple, ed., *Selection From the Records of the GOI.* Blair himself detained aborigines 'as a means of gaining a knowledge of their language and customs,' and took an Andamanese man back to India. Archibald Blair, *Survey of the Andamans*, 92–93; also Blair to GOI, December .25,1789, in Temple, ed., *Selections*. Semi-mythical stories of Malay kidnappings became increasingly elaborate and ancient: Mouat narrated an incident from 1694 that he had picked up from Hamilton, and reminded readers that Malays were 'cruel and vindictive.' Mouat, 11–13, 22.
8 On law and the fabrication of hegemony, see Purnima Bose, *Organizing Empire*, 31–34. Bose suggests, intriguingly, that the Mutiny (as an episode and as a word) marked the limits of this hegemony.
9 Harrison, 1–24.
10 Tickell, 162–73.
11 Ibid.
12 Ajay Skaria, 'Writing, Orality and Power,' in Shahid Amin and Dipesh Chakrabarty, eds., *Subaltern Studies IX*, 37.
13 Henry Corbyn, Narrative No. 2, HD 1863.
14 Portman, 427.
15 Portman disliked the long-term removal of the Andamanese from the islands, seeing it as damaging to the savage and minimally useful to the civilized. Ibid., 541.
16 D.M. Stewart to GOI, April15, 1873, HD 1873, 58.

17 Portman, 788.
18 RAH 1894.
19 Ibid.
20 Portman, 747.
21 Stewart to GOI, April 15, 1873.
22 Ibid.
23 Portman, 310.
24 E. H. Man, quoted in Portman, 796. Godwin-Austen was briefly OC-Andamanese in the 1880s when Portman was on leave.
25 Portman, 796.
26 'When they finally left us, they shewed great reluctance at parting with their keeper [and] I cannot doubt but that they felt affection for him,' Haughton wrote about one group of ex-captives. Haughton to Grey, March 27, 1863, HD 1863, 85.
27 Greenblatt, 86.
28 Lewis Wurgaft, *The Imperial Imagination*, 1; McClintock, 207; Gilman, in Gates, ed., 223.
29 Symes, 125–38.
30 Ibid.
31 J. Rodyk, quoted in Portman, 116–17. See also R.C. Temple, 'Andamanese in Penang,' 91–96.
32 Henry Corbyn, memo, October 5, 1863, HD 1864.
33 Tickell, 'Memoranda.'
34 Tickell writes that his captives sometimes had to be 'forced to wear clothing.' Ibid.
35 Ibid.
36 Tytler to GOI, April 27, 1863, HD 1863.
37 David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism*, 8.
38 Fifty-two were taken in March 1894 alone. RAH 1893–1894.
39 'Very curious types of faces were to be seen among the Onges; some entirely Negroid; others Mongoloid; others Malayan; a special type which I have called the Onge type; some like aborigines in the Great Andaman; and others like North American Indians. Nothing strikes observers of the Andamanese more than the number of types of face to be seen among them.' Portman, 845.
40 Portman, 740–47.
41 RAH 1885–1886.
42 RAH 1892–1893.
43 Mouat, 284, 288–89.
44 Haughton, 'Papers Relating to the Aborigines of the Andaman Islands.'
45 Tickell, 'Memoranda.' Emphases in original.
46 Fytche wrote: 'Should any accident happen to throw children of the race under the care of Capt. Haughton, there might then be a better opportunity of acquiring means of linguistic communication.' A. Fytche to GOI, May 28, 1861, FD 1861.
47 Henry Corbyn, Narrative No. 2, HD 1863.
48 See 'Note on Port Blair,' Robert Napier papers, MSS EUR B116, OIOC.
49 Portman, 747, 815.
50 RAH 1866–1867; also White, 50–93.
51 Portman, 740–42.
52 These experiments, like Australian child-removal, also reflected a vision of children as being plastic and unformed in their identities, albeit not

without limits. Hugh Cunningham, *Children and Childhood in Western Society*, 134–62.

53 Portman, 823.
54 RAH 1882–1883, 1883–1884.
55 RAH 1884–1885; Portman, 744.
56 Portman, 803.
57 Ibid., 744.
58 Ranajit Guha, *Dominance Without Hegemony: History and Power in Colonial India*.
59 On the ambitions and imperfections of the measurement of pain in modern punishment, see Michael Ignatieff, *A Just Measure of Pain*, 3–14, and 'State, Civil Society and Total Institutions,' in Stanley Cohen and Andrew Scull, eds., *Social Control and the State*, 98.
60 Satadru Sen, 'A Separate Punishment,'; David Arnold, 'The Colonial Prison,' in Arnold and Hardiman, eds., 148–87.
61 Sen, *Disciplining Punishment*, 248.
62 Corbyn, Narrative No. 2.
63 Portman, 748–49.
64 Ibid., 677–81. See also Cadell to GOI, March 23,1887, HD 1887, 1742.
65 Very rarely, Andamanese 'murderers' were hanged by the regime, although even here, the rituals of trial and sentencing were largely farcical. Portman, 638–39.
66 S. Hellard, 'Notes on the Andamanese Captured at Port Blair,' in Haughton, 258–63.
67 A. Fytche, in Haughton, 263–67.
68 GOI to Tytler, April 6,1863, March 14, 1863, HD 1863, 1653.
69 Tytler to GOI, April 27, 1863, HD 1863.
70 Portman, 369.
71 RAH 1889–1890.
72 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 3–31.
73 RAH 1890–91.
74 Ibid.
75 'On the 5th I met . . . Natude Totali Koge, one of the women who was captured on the Cinque Islands in 1885. On the 6th I met . . . the three men who had visited me at Bumila Creek on the 3rd of November last. I completed the survey on the 7th.' Portman wrote about a surveying expedition to Little Andaman in 1886. Portman, 824–25. On surveying and colonialism, see Cohn, *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge*, 7.
76 Portman, 306.
77 W. H. Sleeman, *Ramaseeana*. On Ramusi or the Thug 'language,' see F. B. Robinson, 'Adaptation to Colonial Rule by the "Wild Tribes" of the Bombay Deccan, 1818–80,' doctoral thesis, University of Michigan, 1978, 18.
78 RSAI 1866–1867.
79 Ibid.
80 Ibid.
81 Ibid.
82 Cohn, *An Anthropologist Among the Historians*, 632–35.
83 RSAI 1866–67.
84 Ibid.
85 Ford to GOI, October 2, 1867, HD 1868.

86 Mouat, 120.
87 Portman, 359.
88 Fytche, in Haughton. Man, who also showed an interest in the ‘remarkable docility and obedience’ of aboriginal children, assumed that the plasticity of the child could compensate for the stubbornness of savage nature. Docility and obedience, it should be noted, were aspects of Andamanese children in the clearing, not in the jungle. Annual Report of the Andamanese Orphanage, 1871.
89 Tickell, ‘Memoranda.’
90 See Sen, ‘A Separate Punishment.’
91 Tickell, ‘Memoranda.’ This vision reflected an older strategy of addictive visitation developed by administrators of aborigines in eighteenth-century India. Kaushik Ghosh, ‘A Market for Aboriginality,’ in Gautam Bhadra et al. eds., *Subaltern Studies X*, 35.
92 Tickell, ‘Memoranda.’
93 Report of the Andaman Committee, HD 1858.
94 Sen, ‘The Orphaned Colony.’
95 Minutes of the GG in C, May 9, 1868, HD 1868; Portman, 559.
96 RSAI 1871–1872.
97 RAH 1891–1892.
98 Haughton to Grey, March 27, 1861, HD 1861, 85. These narratives suggest that Andamanese captives may not always have recognized the political geography of captivity. If the captive does not see the site of detention as distinct from ‘home,’ then ‘escape’ is no longer a straightforward movement.
99 Portman, 739.
100 Haughton to Grey, January 10, 1861, HD 1861, 67.
101 Ibid., 804–5.
102 Ibid.
103 Ibid., 594.
104 Man, 12; Portman, 602.
105 Pandya, *Above the Forest*, xiv, 7.
106 See Chapter 4.
107 Partha Chatterjee, *A Princely Imposter?*, 375–79.
108 Colebrooke, journal, excerpted in Portman, 57–65; also *Selections From the Records of the GOI*, 28.
109 Portman, 65.
110 Symes, 125–38.
111 Hellard, in Haughton.
112 Ibid.
113 Ibid.
114 Sanborn, *The Sign of the Cannibal*, 16–17.
115 Henry Corbyn, Narrative No. 2, HD 1863.
116 Ibid.
117 A. Fytche, ‘A Note on Certain Aborigines.’
118 Tickell, ‘Memoranda.’
119 Ibid.
120 Ibid.
121 Corbyn to Tytler, July 2, 1863 (Narrative No. 1), HD 1863.
122 Portman, 729.
123 Ibid., 801–2.
124 Ibid., 743–45

125 Ibid., 824.
126 Corbyn, Narrative No. 2.
127 Portman, 551.
128 The southern tribe turned out to be cautious but not especially hostile. Corbyn, Narrative No. 2.
129 RSAI 1866–1867.
130 RAH 1866–1867.
131 H. Man was the father of E. H. Man. The two men had overlapping tenures in the Andamans.
132 RSAI 1868–1869.
133 Portman, 850; Sen, 'The Orphaned Colony.'
134 Unlike released Jarawa captives, Onge ex-captives like Tomiti, Talai and Kogio Kai continued to negotiate with the settlement. The 'tamed' Onge, in that sense, responded to kidnapping in a manner reminiscent of the Akabeada. RSAI 1885–1886.
135 Mouat, 116–17.
136 Portman, 823. See also Dening, 125.
137 The depth of the impression made is debatable. The native press generally ignored the tours altogether, and the Anglo-Indian press took minimal notice. The enthralled audience was, in that sense, a figment of the tour guide's imagination. *The Statesman*, February 6, 1892, 5.
138 Wilson, 63–70.
139 The anxiety of counter-scrutiny is palpable in Haughton's narratives of mutual inspections in the early 1860s, when it remains ambiguous whether the colonists had approached the Andamanese or vice versa. Haughton to Grey, March 27, 1861, HD 1861, 85.
140 Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory*, 561–70; McClintock, 56–61; on the exhibition of bodies, see Gilman, in Gates, ed., 232.
141 Mouat, 280–90.
142 Ibid., 82–83.
143 Corbyn, Narrative No. 3, HD 1864.
144 Ibid.
145 Ibid.
146 Metcalf, 146, 166.
147 This was echoed in the clearing in the Islands. In 1867, Homfray organized an 'Agricultural Exhibition' on Ross Island, in which Andamanese workers at the Home were given prizes for their 'fibres.' This was, on the one hand, a display *of* the Andamanese. On the other hand, it was a display of civilization – which includes the savage encounter – *for* the Andamanese. Homfray's collection and categorization of fibers anticipates Portman's work in the 1890s: it constitutes not only an exercise in cataloging colonial artifacts, but also a reinvestment of a thing (fibers) with new meanings (display object, prize object) which are then imposed on the Andamanese, who are encouraged to regard the thing in the new light and to compete with each other in that light. It is, as such, a significant form of authority, although its 'success' is not straightforward; we cannot be sure that the Andamanese perceived these exhibitions and prizes in the spirit intended. RAH 1866–1867.
148 Portman, 681.
149 Ibid., 659–60.
150 Ibid., 681–82.

151 Ibid., 656.
152 The Anthropological Survey of India offices are located on Kyd Street in Calcutta. On the ideological implications of colonial botanical gardens, see Sampson, 'Unmasking the Colonial Picturesque,' in Eleanor Hight and Gary Sampson, *Colonialist Photography*, 84–106.
153 Portman, 659.
154 RSAI 1894–1895, 1895–1896.
155 RSAI 1865–1866.
156 Portman, 645–46.

4 The dying savage: work, medicine and Andamanese extinction

1 Mouat, 190.
2 When Jumbo died in Moulmein in 1861, his skeleton was preserved for the Asiatic Society. Tickell, 'Memoranda.'
3 Man, 'On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands,' Part I, 82, n. 3.
4 Ibid., 83–85; AnSI v.9; on indigenous medicine and British attitudes, see Mark Harrison, *Public Health in British India*, 36–59.
5 Sen, *Disciplining Punishment*, 131–61.
6 Elizabeth Elbourne, 'The Sin of the Settler.'
7 John Lubbock, *The Origin of Civilization and the Primitive Condition of Man*, 1–2.
8 Kaushik Ghosh, 'A Market for Aboriginality,' in Gautam Bhadra et al., eds., *Subaltern Studies X*, 8–48.
9 Nicolson, in David Arnold, ed., *Imperial Medicine and Indigenous Societies*, 83.
10 Tytler, 'Account of Further Intercourse.'
11 'No Nicobarese does a stroke of work if he can help it,' F. T. S. Robertson wrote at the turn of the century. MSS Eur. F 209, # 1. (IOLR).
12 On morbidity in the discourse of the French penal colony in Guyane, see Redfield, 59–66, 100–2, 191–96.
13 Day noted that the Andamanese had torn up and eaten young coconut trees, and therefore had no coconuts. F. Day Report. Cadell echoed the theme of wasted agricultural opportunity when he came upon an abandoned vegetable patch in the jungle. RSAI 1879–80.
14 Symes, 125–38.
15 Blair used the term 'civilized' to indicate 'non-hostile' rather than 'laboring.' Blair to GOI, April 18, 1792; Temple, ed., *Selections from the Records of the GOI*.
16 Portman, 116.
17 Ibid.
18 H. Kinsey narrative, November 20, 1861 (Portman, 445–46).
19 Ibid.
20 Ibid; Temple, 'Andamanese in Penang', 91–96.
21 Sen, 'Schools, Athletes, Confrontation,' in Mills and Sen, eds., *Confronting the Body*. See also Nicholas Thomas, 'Colonial Conversions,' in Catherine Hall, ed., *Cultures of Empire*, 305–15.
22 Sen, *Colonial Childhoods*, 143–86.
23 Stoler, 137–64.
24 Portman, 482–84.

25 RSAI 1869–1870.
26 Sen, 'The Orphaned Colony.'
27 RSAI 1882–1883.
28 See Chapter 5.
29 McClintock, 4–6.
30 RSAI 1892–1893.
31 Stoler, 111; Sen, *Colonial Childhoods*, 171–78, 187.
32 Ashis Nandy, *The Intimate Enemy*, 64–66.
33 It is useful to recall the centrality of the savage-servant Tituba in an earlier colonial encounter, namely the panic over witchcraft in Salem in the 1690s. See Elaine Breslaw, *Tituba: Reluctant Witch of Salem*.
34 Stefan Collini, 'The Idea of Character in Victorian Political Thought,' 45–46.
35 RSAI 1883–1884.
36 Ibid.
37 R. C. Tytler to E. C. Bayley, June 25, 1863, HDPr. 1864, 22.
38 Henry Corbyn, Narrative no. 3, HDPr. 1864.
39 J. S. Mill, *Utilitarianism, Liberty, Representative Government*, 197–227.
40 Mouat wrote of 'those influences which are gradually and certainly widening the sphere of civilization, and either changing the savage into a civilized being, or annihilating him.' The words are from 1863; Mouat's outlook on civilizing savages had darkened since his optimistic consultations with Canning in 1858. Mouat, 276–78.
41 Rachel Tolen, 'Colonizing and Transforming the Criminal Tribesman: The Salvation Army in British India.'
42 GOI Home (Public), March 14, 1863, 32–35 A. The Government of India had quickly negated the suggestion.
43 HDPr. 1864.
44 Corbyn to Tytler, July 2, 1863, HDPr. 1863.
45 RSAI 1869–1870.
46 GOI Home (Public), March 3, 1865, 1–6.
47 Portman, 488.
48 Corbyn, Narrative 3.
49 Portman, 590.
50 Ibid., 597.
51 See Blair, *Survey of the Andamans*, x.
52 Bullard, 102–3.
53 Tytler to Bayley, June 25, 1863, HD 1863, 22; GOI to Ford, May 31, 1864, HD 1864; Portman, 467–69.
54 Portman, 644, 688.
55 Indrani Chatterjee, *Gender, Slavery and Law in Colonial India*, 1–33.
56 'This cultivation of the soil by the Andamanese has been an *ignis fatuus* to many officers,' Portman wrote. 'It is impossible to turn, by an order, or in a few years, or even in one generation, a hunting and nomadic, into a pastoral people. The labour of clearing, and keeping cleared, the jungle would be far too great for the Andamanese.' Portman, 460.
57 Portman, 465–66.
58 Corbyn, Narrative 3; Corbyn to Ford, May 20, 1864, HDPr. 1864.
59 RSAI 1869–1870.
60 RSAI 1873–1874.
61 RSAI 1870–1871.

62 Ibid.
63 On the notion of the 'savage chief,' see Kuklick, 242.
64 RSAI 1870–1871.
65 See Chapter 5.
66 RSAI 1879–1880, 1880–1881.
67 ROCA 1890–1891.
68 C. Howell, memo, HD (Port Blair) 1871.
69 GOI Home (Judic.), April 1872, 209–10. Report of C. Darwood, director of the Andaman Home.
70 Nicholson, in Arnold, ed., 67.
71 J. Grierson, *Twelve Select Views of the Seat of War*. Pages not numbered; parentheses and emphasis in original.
72 Mouat, 25, 37.
73 Ibid., 86, 105–6.
74 Schama, 561.
75 Mouat, 90.
76 Ibid., 146, 150–51.
77 Ibid., 152.
78 'The dislike that was entertained for the [Andamanese] . . . led . . . to the creation and circulation [by Europeans] of the most unfavourable reports regarding the climate – all highly exaggerated,' Mouat wrote. Ibid., 38.
79 Ibid., 94.
80 HD (Port Blair), November 1877, 5–7, 199–203.
81 Portman calculated (or guessed) that between half and two-thirds of the population of Great Andaman was dead by the end of the decade. Portman, 613–14.
82 Portman, 613–14.
83 Mouat, 276.
84 Belcher, 'Notes on the Andaman Islands.'
85 Harrison, *Climates and Constitutions*, 1–24.
86 Corbyn, Narrative no. 2, HD 1863.
87 S. R. Christophers, *Malaria in the Andamans*, 1. Arguably, a 'local' disease like malaria had no place in the broader discourse of aboriginal extinction. Day's glimpse of the disease in aboriginal faces in 1870 was quite exceptional.
88 Portman, 417.
89 Portman, 647–49.
90 RSAI 1866–1867.
91 Reverend Stern to GOI, February 9, 1870, HDPr. 1870.
92 Portman, 605.
93 Edmonds, 14–16, 194–222.
94 RSAI 1875–1876; Portman, 618.
95 See Wilson, 169.
96 Portman, 837–43.
97 Portman, 614–15.
98 Kinsey, excerpted in Portman, 445–46.
99 Tickell, 'Memoranda.'
100 Corbyn, Narrative no. 2.
101 Harrison, *Climates and Constitutions*, 153–203.
102 'It is an extraordinary fact that savages . . . contract pulmonary diseases if forced to wear clothing.' Tickell, 'Memoranda.'

103 RSAI 1865–1866.
104 Report of F. Day.
105 Portman, 528–29.
106 ROCA 1876–1877.
107 Ian Catanach, ‘Plague and the Tensions of Empire,’ in Arnold, ed., 149–71.
108 RAH 1876–1877, 1877–1878. See also Portman, 616–19.
109 Catanach, in Arnold, ed., 149–71.
110 Portman, 608.
111 Papers of T. S. Blakeney, MSS. Eur. C 299, IOLR.
112 Ibid.
113 Ibid.
114 Ibid.
115 Hellard, in Haughton, ‘Papers relating to the aborigines of the Andaman Islands.’
116 Tickell, ‘Memoranda.’
117 ROCA 1866.
118 Ibid.
119 E. H. Man had been fascinated by Andamanese medicine as late as 1883. He had, however, seen it not as a set of cures, but as curiosities. Man, 16–20.
120 RSAI 1876–1877.
121 RSAI 1884–1885; Portman, 690, 838.
122 Blakeney papers.
123 A. Fytche to GOI, May 28, 1861, FDPr. 1861.
124 The African was the standard against which physiological and behavioral degradation was measured. Gilman, in Gates, ed., 223–57.
125 A. Fytche to GOI, May 28, 1861, FDPr. 1861.
126 MSS. Eur. C 299.
127 On cleanliness and Victorian attitudes, see McClintock, 152–55.
128 MSS. Eur. C 299.
129 Portman, ch. 16.
130 Arnold, *Colonizing the Body*, 61–63; Arnold, ‘Smallpox and Colonial Medicine,’ in Arnold, ed., *Imperial Medicine and Indigenous Societies*, 57–59.
131 Portman, 616.
132 Man, Part I, 98. On the Andamanese ‘inability to count,’ see Portman, 40, and Maulana Jafar Thanesari, *Kalapani*, 64.
133 Radcliffe-Brown, *The Andaman Islanders*, 16–19.
134 Cohn, *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge*, 8; Arjun Appadurai, ‘Number in the Colonial Imagination,’ in Breckenridge and van der Veer, eds., *Orientalism and the Postcolonial Predicament*, 314.
135 John Locke, *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*, 166–72; Sen, ‘Schools, Athletes, Confrontation,’ in Mills and Sen, *Confronting the Body*.
136 RSAI 1883–1884.
137 Portman writes that he once saw symptoms of smallpox in the late 1880s, and that he was able to isolate the patient effectively. The account is not entirely implausible, but it is unlikely that smallpox in the Andamans would have been a ‘one-off’ phenomenon. Portman, 614–15.
138 Ibid., 501.
139 RSAI 1883–1884.
140 Smithers, 60.
141 Portman, 601.

142 F. Day Report.
143 RSAI 1866–1867.
144 Ibid.
145 Portman, 551.
146 RSAI 1868–1869.
147 Ibid.; Portman, 564.
148 Portman, 874.
149 Ibid.
150 See Sen, *Colonial Childhoods*, 9.
151 Portman, 875.
152 Benjamin Kidd, 'Social Evolution,' 551–56. Kidd's remarks about race and survival in South Africa were made in 1894, but he did not actually visit South Africa until 1902.
153 See Chapter 6.
154 ROCA 1885–1886.
155 Ibid.; RSAI 1886–1887.
156 Portman, 674–75.
157 RSAI 1883–1884.
158 ROCA 1890–1891.
159 Resolution of the GOI on RSAI 1890–1891, HD 1891.
160 RSAI 1894–1895.
161 See Theodora Kroeber, *Ishi in Two Worlds*; Sharman Stone, ed., *Aborigines in White Australia*, 27–28; Vivienne Ellis, *Trucanini*, 20–26.
162 Ranabir Samaddar, *Memory, Identity, Power*, 176.
163 Portman, 673.
164 Ibid., 692. Pandya makes a similar claim about Onge extinction-consciousness, but his observation was made under vastly different circumstances of influence/information between the tribe and the world. Pandya, 'Movement and Space.'
165 See Chapter 3.
166 See Mukhopadhyay et al., eds., *Jarawa Contact*, passim.
167 ROCA 1890–1891.
168 Portman, 701–4.
169 Ibid.
170 Ibid., 844.
171 Ibid.
172 Ibid., 620.
173 Ibid., 699.
174 Rivers had just begun to publish his writings on Melanesians when Portman wrote *A History of Our Relations*. Given Portman's views on the Andamanese race, it is possible, although not certain, that he knew Rivers' work.
175 Mary Louise Pratt, 'The Face of the Country,' in Gates, ed., 141–45.

5 Another jungle: natives and savages

1 Portman, 345–46.
2 Sangari, in Niranjana et al., eds., 243, emphases in original.
3 Heather Streets, *Martial Races*, 18–51; Michael Fisher, *The First Indian Author in English*, 122–24, 132–36.
4 Wolfe, 3.

5 This observation is necessarily tentative, derived from an absence within the record of sexual relations. Given the keen British interest in the sexual lives of convict women, it is unlikely that relationships with Andamanese men would have gone unnoted. See Satadru Sen, 'Rationing Sex: Female Convicts in the Andamans.'
6 On 'sexual gain' and social hierarchy, see Andre Beteille, *Society and Politics in India*, 15–36.
7 Robb, 1–76; John Brockington, 'Concepts of Race in the Mahabharata and Ramayana,' in Robb, 97–108.
8 Dirks, 3–18; Guha, *Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency*, 1–17.
9 Sen, 'Punishment on the Fringes,' in Agha and Kolsky, eds.
10 'Adopted in Andaman,' *Chambers' Journal of Popular Literature,* no. 325, 3.24.1860, 177–79. On Tewari's return to the Andamans in 1866, see Belcher, 'Notes on the Andaman Islands.'
11 Man believed that Tewari had concocted portions of his story. Man, 'On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands,' part II, 139–40.
12 Portman, 279.
13 In the first three months of the settlement, Walker hanged eighty-seven convicts for attempting escape, and another 140 escaped, avoided recapture, and were presumed to have died in the jungle. The total convict population at the time was only 773. J. P. Walker, Report to GOI, March 1858, HD 1858; GOI memo, September 3, 1858, HD (Judicial) 1858, 1–2.
14 The author of the article may have mistakenly assumed that Tewari was Bengali.
15 'Adopted in Andaman,' *Chamber's Journal.*
16 Dilip Kumar Chakraborti, *The Great Andamanese*, iii–iv; Pandit, 4.
17 Guha, *Savaging the Civilized*, 124.
18 'Doodnath . . . assured me that he could discover no trace of religious worship or the acknowledgment of any unseen power among them,' Haughton noted. Haughton to Grey, March 27, 1863, HD 1863, 85.
19 Mouat, 299, 310.
20 RSAI 1892–1893.
21 Dening, 120, 129; Edmonds, 63.
22 Sen, 'Rationing Sex.'
23 Corbyn, Narrative No. 2.
24 Ibid.
25 Portman, 467–69.
26 Corbyn, Narrative No. 2.
27 'Adopted in Andaman,' *Chamber's Journal*.
28 Corbyn, Narrative No. 2.
29 Walker to Home Department, April 1858, HD 1858; 'Adopted in Andaman,' *Chamber's Journal.*
30 Carter, 293–319.
31 RSAI 1882–1883.
32 RSAI 1858–59.
33 Portman, 40; Thanesari, 64.
34 RSAI 1859–1860.
35 Corbyn, Narrative No. 3, HD 1864.
36 RSAI 1858–1859.
37 Portman, 288.

38 Ibid., 294.
39 RSAI 1875–1876.
40 Metcalf, 113–59.
41 RSAI 1858–1859.
42 RSAI 1860–1861.
43 RSAI 1858–1859.
44 GOI to Haughton, March 1, 1860, HD 1860, 436.
45 RSAI 1861–1862.
46 Portman, 276–78.
47 Bullard, 201–3.
48 Sen, *Disciplining Punishment,* 62–63.
49 On British constructions of Wahhabi activism, see Alex Padamsee, *Representations of Indian Muslims in British Colonial Discourse*, 152–69, 190–95.
50 Sen, in Agha and Kolsky, eds.
51 Ibid.
52 While there is little evidence that Indian convicts had a special dread of the *kalapani* (crossing the 'black water'), it is reasonable that the prospect of permanent isolation would be demoralizing and even transforming, inducing something similar to what Bullard has called 'fatal nostalgia' (Bullard, 182). It should be noted, however, that the convict society that actually developed in the Andamans was by the mid-1860s linked to the mainland by news, letters and clandestine commerce. Sen, in Agha and Kolsky, eds.
53 Stewart to GOI, April 15, 1873, HD 1873, 58.
54 Portman, 727.
55 Ibid., 730. All the convicts named in Portman's Jarawa counterinsurgency narrative are Muslims. While this may be a coincidence, it is likely that Portman – in keeping with the contemporary British ideology of 'martial races' – found Muslims (especially Pathans) to be appropriate military subordinates in a war within savagery. On 'martial races,' see Streets, passim.
56 RAH 1890–1891.
57 Tytler to GOI, April 27, May 6, 1863; GOI to Tytler August 4, 1863, HD 1863, 4013, 4847.
58 Sen, *Disciplining Punishment*, 36–48.
59 RSAI 1864–1865.
60 Ibid.
61 RSAI 1865–1866.
62 RAH 1882–1883.
63 Corbyn, Narrative No. 3; RSAI 1879–1880, 1880–1881.
64 RSAI 1883–1884.
65 RSAI 1861–1862; Haughton to W. Grey, January 10, 1861, HD 1861, 67.
66 Portman, 293–94. On convicts and brass pots, see Anand Yang, 'The Lotah Emeutes of 1855,' in Mills and Sen, eds., 102–17.
67 RAH 1887–1888.
68 RSAI 1882–1883, RAH 1890–1891, 1893–1894.
69 RAH 1874–1875, 1883–1884.
70 RAH 1874–1875.
71 Ibid.
72 RSAI 1868–1869, 1869–1870.
73 Ibid.
74 GOI to Tytler, March 14, 1863, HD 1863, 1653.

75 This should not be taken as a denial of individual or collective defiance of the penal regime by convicts. Violent resistance was nevertheless rare. Sen, *Disciplining Punishment,* 69–70.
76 Corbyn to Tytler, July 2, 1863 (Corbyn, Narrative No. 1).
77 RAH 1874–1875. Convicts also taught aboriginal children at the Homes. See communication between A. P. Phayre (Chief Commissioner of British Burma) and GOI, March to April 1865, HD 1865.
78 Haughton to GOI, June 30, 1860, HD 1860.
79 On convict overseers and loyalty, see Sen, *Disciplining Punishment*, 113–19.
80 Corbyn to Ford, May 20, 1864, HD 1864.
81 Ford to GOI, June 6, 1864, HD 1864.
82 Ibid.
83 Portman, 488.
84 By the early 1870s, there was a movement to relocate the Homes and their associated infrastructure away from the major administrative centers (like Ross and Viper Island) to places like Haddo, which had many convicts but few Britons. Ibid., 593.
85 Corbyn to Ford, February 29, 1864, HD 1864, 54A.
86 Ford to GOI, August 11, 1864, 54A.
87 Trying to explain the killing by the Andamanese of a convict officer named Girba Singh, Portman speculates that Homfray usually got convicts to punish the Andamanese because that would deflect the wrath of the aborigines on to the Indians (Portman, 488). In Portman's own time, attacks by aborigines on the Indians who policed them continued; a convict named Habib, who had tried to restrain a group of Andamanese from leaving a work site in 1885, was shot and killed. RAH 1884–1885, 1885–1886.
88 Michael Ignatieff, 'State, Civil Society and Total Institutions,' in Cohen and Scull, ed., 98; Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 257–92.
89 Corbyn, Narrative No. 4, 1864, reproduced in Portman, 706–7.
90 Portman, 360–61.
91 Ibid., 432–33.
92 Ibid., 469.
93 Tytler, 'Account of Further Intercourse.'
94 Hellard, in Haughton, 'Papers Relating to the Aborigines of the Andaman Islands.'
95 Portman, 599.
96 Metcalfe, 165–67, 185–93.
97 Corbyn, Narrative No. 3.
98 On Self-Supporters, see Sen, *Disciplining Punishment,* 98–109, 217–21.
99 Corbyn to Ford, May 20, 1864, HD 1864. On caste in the Andamans, see Sen, op. cit., 221–23.
100 Corbyn to Ford, op. cit.
101 Portman, 490.
102 See Marina Carter, *Servants, Sirdars and Settlers*, 245–66.
103 F. Day Report.
104 In 1863, a naval guardsman told Tytler about a sailor, appropriately named Knott, who had lived with the Andamanese for a decade and 'gone native.' Tytler did not attempt to corroborate the story. While Portman speculates that this was because Tytler did not believe the story, it is also likely that Tytler would have 'found' Knott severely disruptive. Portman, 364.

105 Sen, in Agha and Kolsky, eds.
106 F. Day Report.
107 M.V. Portman, *Notes on the Andamanese*, 370. Portman also complained about convicts at the Homes teaching the Andamanese to smoke, and about the proliferation of respiratory illness among the aborigines. He himself advocated using tobacco as an addictive lever against the Jarawa, but the identity of the provider was crucial to his approval. He generally opposed any provision of alcohol. Portman, *A History of Our Relations*, 378, 464.
108 RSAI 1867–1868.
109 RAH 1891–1892.
110 RAH 1887–1888.
111 Portman complained that white soldiers on Ross Island had shared their alcohol with aborigines and inculcated them with ‘other bad habits.’ Portman, 464.
112 Ibid., 378.
113 RAH 1891–1892.
114 On Indian criminality and British attitudes, see Sen, *Disciplining Punishment*, 36.
115 ANSI v. 19.
116 Phayre to Ford, April 7, 1865, HD 1865.
117 RAH 1868–1869, 1869–1870.
118 RSAI 1869–1870.
119 RAH 1878–1879.
120 Ibid.
121 Portman, 490.
122 Ibid.; Francis Galton, *Inquiry Into the Human Faculty and Its Development*, 299–317.
123 See Chapter 6.
124 H. Man to Homfray, August 4, 1868, HD 1868. Man was worried that Homfray would be unable to manage ‘quarrels’ over women at the Homes. He may, however, have meant quarrels between convicts over Andamanese women.
125 RAH 1892–1893.
126 RAH 1893–1894.
127 Portman, 285–86.
128 RAH 1891–1892.
129 On colonial lock hospitals and the monitoring of prostitutes, see Philippa Levine, ‘Rereading the 1890’s: Venereal Disease as Constitutional Crisis in Britain and British India,’, 587.
130 RSAI 1875–1876.
131 Ibid.
132 Ibid.
133 Ibid.
134 RAH 1891–1892.
135 Ibid.
136 Sen, *Colonial Childhoods*, 70; Pamela Horn, *The Victorian Town Child*, 181.
137 Hiatt, 6.
138 RSAI 1866–1867.

6 Savage pleasures: the erotics of the Andamanese body

1 Portman Collection, ANSI and BL (OIOC), passim.
2 Cohn, *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge*, 5–11; McClintock, 122–26; Christopher Pinney, 'The Parallel Histories of Anthropology and Photography,' in Edwards, ed., 74.
3 Christopher Pinney, *Camera Indica*, 45.
4 Pinney, 'The Parallel Histories'; Pinney, *Camera Indica*, 68–69.
5 Mouat, 23.
6 Sen, *Disciplining Punishment*, 230; Mouat, 284.
7 Tytler, 'Account of Further Intercourse With the Natives of the Andaman Islands.'
8 Fytche, 'A Note on Certain Aborigines.'
9 RSAI 1877–1878.
10 Edwards sees Dobson's photographs as unposed and unmediated glimpses of an Andamanese 'reality,' which is unlikely, given the logistical requirements of photography in 1872. Edwards, 115.
11 Thomas, 'Colonial Conversions,' in Hall, ed., 298–328.
12 Man, 80.
13 Ibid., 69.
14 Ibid., Appendix C; Mouat, 328–40.
15 'It was a pleasure to photograph these people,' Kloss wrote, 'for they submitted to the operation most docilely.' Kloss' 'operation' resembled Portman's musical assault on Little Andaman: the photographer and his companions 'doubled up in paroxysms of laughter' while 'ingenuous' aborigines in 'absurdly comical' body paint posed on the beach. Technology almost collapsed under the weight of their mirth: Kloss apparently laughed so hard he could barely operate his camera. Kloss, 31–32.
16 Pinney, 'The Parallel Histories,' 76.
17 Collingham, 7–10.
18 Wilson, 2. It should be noted that Wilson's point is in reference to eighteenth-century representations.
19 ANSI v19.
20 ANSI v19.
21 Ibid.
22 Portman, *A History of Our Relations*, 636. By appointing chiefs and political agents, Portman approximated British policy in the princely states on the mainland. See John McLeod, *Sovereignty, Power, Control*, 169–96. His behavior, however, was probably over-determined. Kuklick writes that British anthropologists in the late nineteenth century saw savage societies as lacking morally constituted leadership, and that they envisioned the family and the state as the logical solutions to such evolutionary retardation (Kuklick, 250–53). Apart from the political benefits of appointing cooperative chiefs, this perception of a hole in the structure of the savage world may have played a role in the British tendency to appoint Andamanese chiefs, prime ministers and kings, and to set up a congeries of surrogate families under European 'parents,' including Portman.
23 The unnamed men are employees of the Andaman Home, supervised by the chaplain of Port Blair rather than Portman himself.
24 ANSI v19.
25 Sen, *Disciplining Punishment*, 202.

26 Portman, 812.
27 McClintock, 65–71.
28 ANSI v20.
29 Durba Ghosh, *Sex and the Family in Colonial India*; Metcalf, 92–112; Beth Tobin, *Picturing Imperial Power*, 110–17.
30 Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity*; Rudyard Kipling, *Kim*; Dawson, 117, 167.
31 McClintock, 22.
32 Wilson, 177–89; Robert Aldrich, *Colonialism and Homosexuality*, 246.
33 This is not to deny the great utility of native women within discourses of reforming colonialism. However, such discourses were only sporadically – and very tentatively – translated into governance, especially as nationalist positions coalesced around the defense of Indian womanhood from colonial inspection and intervention. Partha Chatterjee, 'The Nationalist Resolution of the Women's Question,' in Kumkum Sangari and Sudesh Vaid, eds., *Recasting Women*; Tanika Sarkar, *Hindu Wife, Hindu Nation*, 23–52. On contemporary anxieties about miscegenation, see Robert Young, *Colonial Desire*, 142–46.
34 Nandy, *The Intimate Enemy*, 1–64; Aldrich, 4.
35 Bose, 33.
36 Cohn, 5–11.
37 David Halperin, *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality*, 15–54.
38 Foucault, *The History of Sexuality v. 1*, 17–49.
39 On technology and modern masculinity, see Ashis Nandy, *Traditions, Tyranny and Utopias*, 80–81.
40 Judith Butler, *Bodies That Matter*, 2.
41 Portman, 'The Exploration and Survey of the Little Andamans,' 8–9.
42 Gilman, in Gates, ed., 238–39.
43 Portman, *A History of Our Relations*, 873–75.
44 ANSI v18.
45 Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory*, 231; Bruce Haley, *The Healthy Body and Victorian Culture*, 141–60. For earlier instances of British admiration for 'athletic' savages, see Malcolm Nicolson, 'Medicine and Racial Politics: Changing Images of the New Zealand Maori in the Nineteenth Century,' in Arnold, ed., *Imperial Medicine and Indigenous Societies*, 73.
46 ANSI v9.
47 ANSI v8.
48 ANSI v1.
49 Hight and Sampson, 1.
50 ANSI v13.
51 James Mills, *Subaltern Sports*, 1–18.
52 Leni Riefenstahl, *The Last of the Nuba.*
53 ANSI v8.
54 Ibid.
55 Portman's (assessed) juvenile minds and (measured) adult bodies found their way simultaneously into the official narrative of the Andamanese. *Imperial Gazetteer of India: Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, 18–19.
56 G. W. F. Hegel, *Introduction to the Philosophy of History*, 93.
57 Sen, *Colonial Childhoods*, 71.
58 *Imperial Gazetteer*, 18–19.
59 ANSI v8.
60 Ibid.

61 Ibid.
62 Ibid.
63 Man, 138.
64 ANSI v9.
65 Orwell, 'Shooting an Elephant,' in George Orwell, *A Collection of Essays*, 148.
66 ANSI v7.
67 M.V. Portman, 'Photography for Anthropologists,' 77.
68 Mouat, 237; Kloss, 33.
69 RAH 1893–1893.
70 Cohn, *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge*, 76–105; Paul Greenough, 'Nation, Economy and Tradition Displayed,' in Breckenridge, ed., *Consuming Modernity*, 216.
71 The best example of this process is perhaps the Tribal Habitat Museum in Bhopal.
72 Deepali Deewan, in Mills and Sen, eds., 118.
73 ANSI v4–8.
74 Pinney, 'Underneath the Banyan Tree,' in Edwards, ed.,168; Redfield, 76.
75 ANSI v4.
76 ANSI v5.
77 McClintock, 30.
78 ANSI v4.
79 ANSI v8.
80 Metcalf, 1–27.
81 Pinney, *Camera Indica*, 17–20.
82 ANSI v4.
83 McClintock, 33.
84 Portman was, in that sense, aligned with the 'scientific primitivism' of Franz Boas. The comparison has its limits, however, since Portman – for all his cultural relativism – never entertained a serious critique of racism.
85 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 135.
86 H. H. Risley, *Census of India*; Crispin Bates, 'Race, Caste and Tribe in Central India,' in Peter Robb, ed.
87 Sen, *Colonial Childhoods*, 77–85; Clare Anderson, *Legible Bodies*, 141; Mills, *Madness, Cannabis and Colonialism*, 43–65.
88 Kuklick, 46.
89 Dirks, 49–50; Anderson op. cit.
90 Portman, *Notes on the Andamanese*, 366–67.
91 Ibid.
92 See Chapter 3. E..H. Man's ethnographic work in the 1870s had its own medical component: Man also recorded body temperatures, and had his own 'Molesworth' in Brander. See Man, 73–74. This project, however, was relatively small and was soon eclipsed by epidemic medicine.
93 ANSI v14–15.
94 ANSI v10.
95 Arnold, *Colonizing the Body*, 159; Harrison, *Public Health in British India*, 117.
96 Mills, *Madness, Cannabis and Colonialism*, 103; Sen, *Colonial Childhoods*, 51.
97 E. B. Tylor, *Anthropology*, x.
98 ANSI v13.
99 ANSI v10.
100 Ibid.

101 Ibid.
102 ANSI v11.
103 Ibid.
104 Gilman, in Gates, ed., 245–47.
105 Dobson, in 1872, had denied that Andamanese women exhibited steatopygia, claiming that their buttocks were different from those of Hottentots. By insisting otherwise, Portman reinforces the undermined link. Steatopygia continues to connect the Andamanese racially; Basu (a state-affiliated anthropologist whose vision of aboriginal bodies is remarkably similar to Portman's) writes that it confirms the Onge as 'one of the purest of all surviving groups of Negritos in the world.' Basu, 18–21.
106 Nandy, *The Intimate Enemy*, 4–11.
107 Bullard, 53, 152.
108 On the convergence of desire and revulsion in black bodies, see Wilson, 177–79, Young, 150–52.
109 Mouat, 124, 127.
110 Wilson, 25, 179–83.
111 Man, 74.
112 ANSI v11.
113 Ibid.
114 Ibid.
115 Portman was not the only European to take an interest in body odor in the Andamans. Molesworth speculated that dogs preferred the Andamanese to Britons because of 'some animal attraction [to] the peculiar smell of the Andamanese' (ANSI v13). As early as 1793, Alexander Kyd had remarked that the Andamanese smelled like 'the Guinea Negro' (Kyd 1793), and a century later Portman had retorted 'The Andamanese have not the Negro smell' (Portman, *A History of Our Relations*). On odor assignment as an articulation and facilitation of racialized/gendered/classed hierarchies, see Constance Classen et al., *Aroma: The Cultural History of Smell*, 161–79.
116 ANSI v12.
117 Ibid.
118 Pratt, in Gates, ed., 139; on genital size and erotic-ethnographic fascination, see Aldrich, 33.
119 ANSI v13.
120 ANSI v12.
121 Ibid.
122 Catanach, in Arnold, ed., 149–71.
123 ANSI v19.
124 ANSI v12.
125 ANSI v13.
126 Brock, 24, 28.
127 Portman, *A History of Our Relations*, 865.
128 The aggressive campaigns against sexually transmitted disease among the Andamanese might be seen as another facet of this investment.
129 ANSI v13.
130 Ibid.
131 Ibid.
132 Ibid.
133 Portman, 34.

134 Man, 125–26, 135–36.
135 The Port Blair administration had sought to keep the Andamanese on Ross Island away from the 'married Christian women' (HDPr 1864).
136 ANSI v13.
137 Ibid.
138 ANSI v14–16.
139 Urvashi Butalia, *The Other Side of Silence*, 175–98.
140 See Rajeswari Sundar Rajan, 'The Subject of Sati,' in Niranjana et al., eds., 298.
141 Cited in Man, 72.

Conclusion: beyond the clearing

1 F. Day Report, HD 1870.
2 The observation that dogs – like other good colonizers – 'got over' an initial fear of aborigines was Day's. Their desertion to the Andamanese was noted by Molesworth. ANSI, v. 13.
3 E. H. Man, part III, 341. On dogs, see also Portman, *A History of Our Relations*, 542–43.
4 Thanesari, 109–10.
5 Emphasis added. Mouat, 3, 78.
6 It has been suggested that the tribe in India is a 'state of mind,' but that mind/state is probably quite modern. Ranjit and Kumkum Bhattacharya, 'Tribes: State of Mind?', 159–65.
7 Prathama Banerjee, 'Representing Pasts: Santals in Nineteenth-Century Bengal,' in Chatterjee and Ghosh, eds., 243–44.
8 Ibid., 256.
9 K. S. Singh, ed., xvi–xvii; Mukhopadyay et al., eds., 13–24; Sita Venkateshwar, *Development and Ethnocide*, passim.
10 Venkateswar, op. cit.; K. Singh, in Chakraborti, iii–iv.
11 Vishvajit Pandya, in *The Light of Andamans*, no. 39, September 9, 2006.
12 Ujjal Mishra, 'The Jarawas: Contact and Conflict,' in Mukhopadyay et al., 19.
13 Basu, 77–82.
14 Hall, 5.
15 S. K. Gupta, *Census of India 1951, Andaman & Nicobar Islands, Appendix A*, v. 17, 1–2. While the post-1947 government discontinued 'punitive raids,' captives continued to trickle in as the Jarawa clashed with resettled East Bengali refugees. Pandit, xi–xii, 10.
16 Basu, 2.
17 Chakraborti, 64–69.
18 Partha Chatterjee, *Wages of Freedom*, 1–20.
19 The best example is perhaps the Tribal Habitat Museum in Bhopal.
20 Jawaharlal Nehru, 'The Tribal Folk,' in *Jawaharlal Nehru's Speeches, II*, 576–83.
21 Franz Boas, *Anthropology and Modern Life*, 229–32.
22 Quoted in Guha, *Savaging the Civilized*, 266.
23 Pandya, op. cit.
24 See Guha, op.cit., 260–77.
25 B. Janardhan Rao, 'Adivasis in India,' in T. V. Satyamurthy, ed., *Region, Religion, Caste, Gender and Culture in Contemporary India*, 417–43.

26 Guha, op.cit., 260–77.
27 Partha Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought in a Colonial World*, 131–66.
28 Liah Greenfeld, *Nationalism*, 3–21, 222.
29 On nationalism and symbol-manipulation in India, see Paul Brass, *Ethnicity and Nationalism*, 69–108.
30 Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and its Fragments*, 158–72; on Volkisch ideology, see Greenfeld, 277–395.
31 Sangari, in Niranjana et al., eds., 247.
32 Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 303–8.
33 RAH 1888–1889, 1889–1890.
34 R. K. Nayak, 'The Fourth World: India's Indigenous Peoples,' in Satyamurthy, ed., 389–90.

Bibliography

Archival sources

The bulk of inter-office memos and communications between Port Blair, Calcutta and London, Annual Reports of the Superintendent of the Andaman Islands (RSAI), Reports of the Andaman Homes (RAH), Reports of the Officer in Charge of the Andamanese (ROCA) and committee reports are nested within the Proceedings, Public Consultations and Records (Port Blair, Judicial, Public, Education, Police and Ecclesiastical Branches) of the Home Department (HD) of the Government of India. A smaller subset is from the Foreign Department (FD). HD and FD materials cited are located at the British Library, the National Archives of India in New Delhi, and the library of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta, unless otherwise indicated. A second major archive utilized in the book is the M. V. Portman photographic and anthropometric collection housed in the library of the Anthropological Survey of India in Calcutta (ANSI), and the overlapping collection in the British Library. The private papers cited (Napier, Robertson, Blakeney) are in the European Manuscripts collection (EUR MSS) of the British Library. Portman's *A History of Our Relations with the Andamanese* is itself an invaluable archive, packed with excerpts and documents that have become difficult, if not impossible, to trace. All Portman references in endnotes are to this volume unless otherwise indicated.

Published materials

Adas, Michael. *Machines as the Measure of Men: Science, Technology and Ideologies of Western Dominance* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1989)

Agha, Sameetah and Kolsky, Elizabeth, eds. *Fringes of Empire* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2009)

Aldrich, Robert. *Colonialism and Homosexuality* (London: Routledge, 2003)

Alexander, James Edward. *Travels From India to England, Comprehending a Visit to the Burman Empire* (London: Parbury & Allen, 1827)

Amin, Shahid and Chakrabarty, Dipesh, eds. *Subaltern Studies IX* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996)

Anderson, Clare. *Legible Bodies: Race, Criminality and Colonialism in South Asia* (Oxford: Berg, 2004)

——. *The Indian Uprising of 1857–58: Prisons, Prisoners and Rebellion* (London: Anthem, 2007)

Arens, William. *The Man-eating Myth: Anthropology and Anthropophagy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979)

Arnold, David. *Imperial Medicine and Indigenous Societies* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989)

——, ed. *Colonizing the Body: State Medicine and Epidemic Medicine in Nineteenth-century India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1993)

Arnold, David and Hardiman, David, eds. *Subaltern Studies VIII* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1994)

Asad, Talal, ed. *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter* (New York: Humanity Books, 1973)

Baker, Lee. *From Savage to Negro: Anthropology and the Construction of Race, 1896–1954* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998)

Ballhatchet, Kenneth. *Race, Class and Sex Under the Raj: Imperial Attitudes and Policies and Their Critics 1793–1905* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1980)

Basu, Badal. *The Onge: Negrito Hunter-gatherers of Little Andaman* (Calcutta: Seagull, 1990)

Belcher, Edward. 'Notes on the Andaman Islands,' *Ethnological Society Transactions*, New Series (1866), v. 5, 6

Beteille, Andre. *Society and Politics in India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1990)

Bhabha, Homi. *The Location of Culture* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1994)

Bhadra, Gautam, Prakash, Gyan and Tharu, Susie, eds. *Subaltern Studies X* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999)

Bhattacharya, Ranjit and Kumkum. 'Tribes: State of Mind?' *Journal of the Indian Anthropological Society* 38 (2003)

Blair, Archibald. *Survey of the Andamans* (Calcutta: Gazette Office, 1793)

Bleek, W. H. I. 'On the Position of the Australian Languages.' *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 1 (1872)

Boas, Franz. *Anthropology and Modern Life* (New York: Dover, 1962)

Bose, Purnima. *Organizing Empire: Individualism, Collective Agency and India* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003)

Brass, Paul. *Ethnicity and Nationalism* (Delhi: Sage, 1991)

Breckenridge, Carol, ed. *Consuming Modernity: Public Culture in a South Asian World* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995)

——and van der Veer, Peter, eds. *Orientalism and the Postcolonial Predicament* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993)

Brock, Peggy. *Outback Ghettos: A History of Aboriginal Institutionalisation and Survival* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993)

Brookings, A. 'An Old Tale of the Southwest Monsoon,' *Our Monthly* (Rangoon), June 1883

Buckingham, Jane. *Leprosy in Colonial South India: Medicine and Confinement* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002)

Bucknor, Philip and Francis, Douglas, eds. *Rediscovering the British World* (Calgary, Canada: University of Calgary Press, 2005)

Bullard, Alice. *Exile To Paradise: Savagery and Civilization in Paris and the South Pacific* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000)
Butalia, Urvashi. *The Other Side of Silence* (Delhi: Penguin, 1998)
Butler, Judith. *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of 'Sex'* (New York: Routledge, 1993)
Cannadine, David. *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001)
Carter, Marina. *Servants, Sirdars and Settlers: Indians in Mauritius, 1834–1874* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995)
Carter, Paul. *The Road to Botany Bay* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1987)
Chakraborti, Dilip Kumar. *The Great Andamanese: Struggling for Survival* (Calcutta: Seagull, 1990)
Chakravarty, Gautam. *The Indian Mutiny and the British Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004)
Chatterjee, Indrani, ed.. *Gender, Slavery and Law in Colonial India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999)
——. *Family and History in South Asia* (Delhi: Permanent Black, 2004)
Chatterjee, Partha. *Nationalist Thought in a Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986)
——. *The Nation and its Fragments* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993)
——. *Wages of Freedom: Fifty Years of the Indian Nation-state* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998)
——. *A Princely Imposter? The Kumar of Bhawal and the Secret History of Indian Nationalism* (Delhi: Permanent Black, 2004)
——and Ghosh, Anjan, eds. *History and the Present* (Delhi: Permanent Black, 2002)
Christophers, S. R. *Malaria in the Andamans* (Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, 1912)
Classen, Constance, Howes, David and Synott, Anthony. *Aroma: The Cultural History of Smell* (London: Routledge, 1994)
Cohen, Stanley and Scull, Andrew, eds. *Social Control and the State* (Oxford: M. Robertson, 1983)
Cohn, Bernard. *An Anthropologist Among the Historians* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1987)
——. *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996)
Colebrooke, R. H. 'On the Andaman Islands,' *Asiatick Researches* IV (1895)
Collingham, E. M. *Imperial Bodies The Physical Experience of the Raj* 1800–1947 (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001)
Collini, Stefan. 'The Idea of Character in Victorian Political Thought,' in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 5:35 (1985)
Cook, James. *Voyage to the South Pole* (London: Strahan and Cadell, 1777)
Crosby, Alfred. *Ecological Imperialism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986)

Cunningham, Hugh. *Children and Childhood in Western Society Since 1500* (London: Longman, 1995)

Dass, F. A. M. *The Andaman Islands* (Bangalore: Good Shepherd Convent Press, 1937)

Dawson, Graham. *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities* (London: Routledge, 1994)

Dening, Greg. *Islands and Beaches: Discourse on a Silent Land, Marquesas 1774–1880* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1980)

Dirks, Nicholas. *Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of Modern India* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001)

Dower, John. *War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War* (New York: Pantheon, 1993)

Drinnon, Richard. *Facing West: The Metaphysics of Indian Hating and Empire Building* (New York: Schocken, 1990)

Edmonds, Rod. *Representing the South Pacific: Colonial Discourse from Cook to Gauguin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997)

Edwards, Elizabeth, ed. *Anthropology and Photography* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992)

Elbourne, Elizabeth. 'The Sin of the Settler,' *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 4:3 (2003)

Elias, Norbert. *The Civilizing Process* (London: Blackwell, 1994)

Ellis, Vivienne. *Trucanini: Queen or Traitor?* (Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, 1981)

Fabian, Johannes. *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press)

Fisher, Michael. *The First Indian Author in English* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996)

Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage, 1979)

——. *The History of Sexuality vol.1* (New York: Vintage, 1990)

Frost, Ginger. *Promises Broken: Courtship, Class and Gender in Victorian England* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1995)

Fussell, Paul. *The Great War and Modern Memory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975)

Fytche, A. 'A Note on Certain Aborigines of the Andaman Islands,' *Journal of the Asiatic Society* 30 (1862)

Galton, Francis. *Inquiry Into the Human Faculty and Its Development* (New York: Macmillan, 1883)

Gates, Henry Louis, ed. *Race, Writing and Difference* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1985)

Ghosh, Durba. *Sex and the Family in Colonial India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006)

Gilroy, Paul. *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992)

Greenblatt, Stephen. *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1991)

Greenfeld, Liah. *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992)
Grierson, J. *Twelve Select Views of the Seat of War* (Calcutta: Asiatic Lithographic Press, 1825)
Guha, Ramachandra. *Savaging the Civilized* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999)
Guha, Ranajit. *Subaltern Studies I* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1982)
——. *Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1983)
——, ed. *Subaltern Studies IV* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1985)
——. *Dominance Without Hegemony: History and Power in Colonial India* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998)
——, ed. *History at the Limits of World-history* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002)
——and Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty, eds. *Selected Subaltern Studies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988)
Gupta, S. K. *Census of India 1951, Andaman & Nicobar Islands, Appendix A,* vol. 17, 1–2 (New Delhi, 1955)
Habermas, Jurgen. *The Theory of Communicative Action vol. 1* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1984)
——. *On the Pragmatics of Communication* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998)
Haley, Bruce. *The Healthy Body and Victorian Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978)
Hall, Catherine, ed. *Cultures of Empire: Colonizers in Britain an the Empire in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (New York: Routledge, 2000)
Halperin, David. *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality* (New York: Routledge, 1990)
Hamilton, Alexander. *A New Account of the East Indies* (London: Argonaut, 1930)
Harrison, Mark. *Public Health in British India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994)
——. Climates *and Constitutions: Health, Race, Environment and British Imperialism in India 1600–1850* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999)
Haughton, J. C. ‘Papers Relating to the Aborigines of the Andaman Islands.’ *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, First Series, XXX (1861)
Hegel, G. W. F. *Introduction to the Philosophy of History* (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1988)
Heidegger, Martin. *Being and Time* (New York: Harper & Row, 1962)
Hevia, James. *Cherishing Men From Afar* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1996)
Hiatt, L. R. *Arguments About Aborigines: Australia and the Evolution of Social Anthropology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996)
Hight, Eleanor and Sampson, Gary. *Colonialist Photography: Imagining Race and Place* (New York: Routledge, 2002)
Hodgen, Margaret. *Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1964)
Horn, Pamela. *The Victorian Town Child* (Thrupp: Sutton, 1997)
Hulme, Peter. *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean* (London: Routledge, 1986)

Hunt, Margaret. ‘Racism, Imperialism and the Traveller’s Gaze in Eighteenth Century England,’ *Journal of British Studies* 32:4 (1993), 333–57

Huxley, Thomas. *Critiques and Addresses* (London: Macmillan, 1873)

Kerr, Douglas. ‘Three Ways of Going Wrong,’ *Modern Language Review* 95:1 (2000)

Kidd, Benjamin. ‘Social Evolution,’ *Mind* 3:2 (1894)

Kipling, Rudyard. *Kim* (Oxford: Oxford World’s Classics, 2008)

Kloss, C. Baden. *Andaman and Nicobars: The Narrative of a Cruise in the Schooner ‘Terrapin,’ With Notices of the Islands, Their Fauna, Ethnology, Etc.* (Delhi: Vivek Publishing House, 1971)

Kroeber, Theodora. *Ishi in Two Worlds: A Biography of the Last Wild Indian in North America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961)

Kuklick, Henrika. *The Savage Within: The Social History of British Anthropology, 1885–1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991)

Levine, Philippa. ‘Rereading the 1890’s: Venereal Disease as Constitutional Crisis in Britain and British India,’ *Journal of Asian Studies*, 55:3 (1996)

Locke, John. *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (London: A & J Churchill, 1993)

Lubbock, John. *The Origin of Civilization and the Primitive Condition of Man: Mental and Social Condition of Savages* (London, 1870)

Maine, Henry. *The Effects of Observation of India on Modern European Thought* (London: Murray, 1875)

Majumdar, R. C. *Penal Settlement in Andamans* (Delhi: Ministry of Education and Social Welfare, 1975)

Man, E. H. ‘On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands,’ *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*. 12 (1883)

Mandeville, John. *The Book of John Mandeville* (London: Hakluyt Society Series 2, vol. 101, 1953)

McClintock, Anne. *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995)

McLeod, John. *Sovereignty, Power, Control: Politics in the States of Western India 1916–1947* (Leiden: Brill, 1999)

Meek, Ronald. *Social Science and the Ignoble Savage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976)

Metcalf, Thomas. *Ideologies of the Raj* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995)

Mill, J. S. *Utilitarianism, Liberty, Representative Government* (London, 1957)

Miller, Harold. *Race Conflict in New Zealand* (Auckland: Blackwood & Paul, 1966)

Mills, James H. *Madness, Cannabis and Colonialism: The ‘Native Only’ Lunatic Asylums of British India, 1857–1900* (London: Macmillan, 2000)

——, ed. *Subaltern Sports: Sports and Politics in South Asia* (London: Anthem, 2005)

——and Sen, Satadru, eds. *Confronting the Body: The Politics of Physicality in Colonial and Post-colonial India* (London: Anthem, 2004)

Mouat, F. J. *Adventures and Researches Among the Andaman Islanders* (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1863)

Mukherjee, Rudrangshu. *Spectre of Violence: The 1857 Kanpur Massacres* (Delhi: Viking, 1998)

Mukhopadhyay, K, Bhattacharya, R. K., and Sarkar, B. N., eds. *Jarawa Contact: Ours With Them, Theirs With Us* (Calcutta: Anthropological Survey of India, 2002)

Nandy, Ashis. *The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of the Self Under Colonialism* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989)

——. *Traditions, Tyranny and Utopias* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1992)

Nehru, Jawaharlal. *Jawaharlal Nehru's Speeches, II* (Delhi, 1954)

Niranjana, Tejaswini, Sudhir, P., and Dhareshwar, Vivek, eds. *Interrogating Modernity: Culture and Colonialism in India* (Calcutta: Seagull, 1993)

Obeyesekere, Gananath. *The Apotheosis of Captain Cook* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992)

——. *Cannibal Talk: The Man-eating Myth and Human Sacrifice in the South Seas* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005)

Orwell, George. *A Collection of Essays* (Orlando, FL: Harcourt, 1981)

Owen, Robert. *The Wrong of Slavery, the Right of Emancipation, and the Future of the African Race in the United States* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1864)

Padamsee, Alex. *Representations of Indian Muslims in British Colonial Discourse* (New York: Palgrave, 2005)

Padel, Felix. *The Sacrifice of Human Being* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000)

Pandit, T. N. *The Sentinelese* (Calcutta: Seagull, 1990)

Pandya, Vishvajit. 'Movement and Space: An Andamanese Cartography,' *American Ethnologist*, 17:4 (1990)

——. *Above the Forest: A Study in Andamanese Ethnoanemology, Cosmology, and the Power of Ritual* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1993)

Pearce, Roy Harvey. *Savagism and Civilization: A Study of the Indian and the American Mind* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988)

Pemberton's General Collection of Voyages and Travels, vol. 7 (London, 1811)

Pinney, Christopher. *Camera Indica: The Social Life of Indian Photographs* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1997)

Polo, Marco. *Travels of Marco Polo, the Venetian* (London: Henry Bohn, 1854)

Portman, M. V. 'The Exploration and Survey of the Little Andamans,' *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography*, September 1888

——. *Notes on the Andamanese* (London: Harrison and Sons, 1896)

——. 'Photography for Anthropologists,' *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* 15 (1896)

——. *A History of Our Relations with the Andamanese* (Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, 1899)

Pratt, Mary Louise. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992)

Radcliffe-Brown, A. R. *The Andaman Islanders* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922)

——. 'The Social Organization of Australian Tribes,' *Oceania*, 1 (1930–1931)

Redfield, Peter. *Space in the Tropics: From Convicts to Rockets in French Guiana* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000)

Riefenstahl, Leni. *The Last of the Nuba* (New York: Harper and Row, 1974)

Risley, Herbert Hope. *The Census of India* (Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, 1903)

Robb, Peter, ed. *The Concept of Race in South Asia* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1995)

Robinson, F. B. 'Adaptation to Colonial Rule by the "Wild Tribes" of the Bombay Deccan, 1818–1880,' doctoral thesis, University of Michigan, 1978

Sahlins, Marshall. 'Cannibalism: An Exchange,' *New York Review of Books*, 26:4 (March 22, 1979), 45–53

——. *Islands of History* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1985)

——. *How 'Natives' Think* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1995)

Samaddar, Ranabir. *Memory, Identity, Power: Politics in the Jungle Mahals (West Bengal) 1890–1950* (Hyderabad: Orient Longman, 1998)

Sanborn, Geoffrey. *The Sign of the Cannibal: Melville and the Making of a Postcolonial Reader* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998)

Sangari, Kumkum, and Vaid, Sudesh. *Recasting Women: Essays in Colonial History* (Delhi: Kali for Women, 1989)

Sarkar, Jayanta. *The Jarawa* (Calcutta: Seagull, 1990)

Sarkar, Tanika. *Hindu Wife, Hindu Nation* (New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2001)

Satyamurthy, T. V., ed. *Region, Religion, Caste, Gender and Culture in Contemporary India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998)

Schama, Simon. *Landscape and Memory* (New York: Random House, 1996)

Sen, Satadru. 'Policing the Savage: Segregation, Labor and State Medicine in the Andamans,' *Journal of Asian Studies,* 58:3 (1999)

——. 'Rationing Sex: Female Convicts in the Andamans,' *South Asia,* 30:1 (1999)

——. *Disciplining Punishment: Colonialism and Convict Society in the Andaman Islands* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000)

——. 'A Separate Punishment: Juvenile Delinquency in Colonial India,' *Journal of Asian Studies* 63:1 (2004)

——. 'Context, Representation and the Colonized Convict: Maulana Thanesari in the Andaman Islands,' *Crime, History, Societies*, 8:2 (2004)

——. *Colonial Childhoods: The Juvenile Periphery of India, 1850–1945* (London: Anthem, 2005)

——. 'The Orphaned Colony,' *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 44:4 (2007)

Singh, K. S. *People of India: Andaman and Nicobar Islands, vol. XII* (Madras: East-West Press, 1994)

Singha, Radhika. *A Despotism of Law: Crime and Justice in Early Colonial India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998)

Sinha, Mrinalini. *Colonial Masculinity: The 'Manly Englishman' and the 'Effeminate Bengali' in the Late Nineteenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995)

Sitton, John. *Habermas and Contemporary Society* (New York: Palgrave, 2003)

Sleeman, W. H. *Ramaseeana, or a Vocabulary of the Peculiar Language Used by the Thugs* (Calcutta: Military Orphan Press, 1836)

Smith, Bernard. *European Vision and the South Pacific* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960)

——. *European Vision and the North Pacific* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985)

Smithers, Gregory. *Science, Sexuality, and Race in the United States and Australia, 1780s–1890s* (New York: Routledge, 2009)

Springhall, John. *Youth, Empire and Society: British Youth Movements, 1883–1940* (London: Croom Helm, 1977)

Stepan, Nancy. *The Idea of Race in Science: Great Britain, 1800–1960* (Hamden: Archon, 1982)

Stokes, Eric. *The English Utilitarians in India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1959)

Stoler, Ann. *Race and the Education of Desire* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995)

Stone, Sharman, ed.. *Aborigines in White Australia* (London: Heinemann, 1974)

Streets, Heather. *Martial Races: The Military, Race and Masculinity in British Imperial Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004)

Symes, Michael. *An Account of an Embassy to the Kingdom of Ava* (London: Bulmer & Co., 1800)

Temple, R. C. Selections from the Records of the GOI (Home Department Series 30, 1903)

——. *Imperial Gazetteer: Andaman and Nicobar Islands* (Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, 1909)

——. 'Andamanese in Penang,' *Indian Antiquary*, May 1920

Thanesari, Maulana Jafar. *Kalapani* (Delhi: Urdu Markaz, 1964)

Thomson, A. S. *The Story of New Zealand: Past and Present, Savage and Civilized* (London: 1859)

Tickell, S. R. 'Memoranda Relative to Three Andamanese,' *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, XXXIII (1864)

Tobin, Beth. *Picturing Imperial Power* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999)

Tolen, Rachel. 'Colonizing and Transforming the Criminal Tribesman: The Salvation Army in British India,' *American Ethnologist*, 18:1 (1991)

Tylor, E. B. *Anthropology* (London: Watts, 1957)

Tytler, R. C. 'Account of Further Intercourse with the Natives of the Andaman Islands,' *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, XXXIII (1864)

Venkateswar, Sita. *Development and Ethnocide: Colonial Practices in the Andaman Islands* (London: IWGIA, 2005)

White, Richard. *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991)

Wiener, Martin. *Reconstructing the Criminal: Culture, Law and Policy in England, 1830–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990)

Wilson, Kathleen. *The Island Race: Englishness, Empire and Gender in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 2003)

Wolfe, Patrick. *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology* (London: Cassell, 1999)

Wurgaft, Lewis. *The Imperial Imagination: Magic and Myth in Kipling's India* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1986)

Yang, Anand. *Crime and Criminality in British India* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1985)

Young, Robert. *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (London: Routledge, 1995)

Yule, Henry and Burnell, A. C. *Hobson Jobson, A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases, and of Kindred Terms* (London: John Murray, 1903)

Index

Aberdeen, Battle of, 54, 160
aboriginality, 6, 27, 91, 98, 128, 159, 175–6, 180, 210–5
Adas, Michael, 9
Adim Janajati Vikas Samiti, 211
adoption, 98, 161
Aeta, 39, 41
Africans, 31, 35–8, 49, 146, 149, 200, 222 (n. 52, n. 67), 238 (n. 124)
African Asylum, 36
Akabeada (Aka Bea), 73, 78–9, 81, 98, 109, 118, 228 (n. 117), 234 (n. 134)
alcohol (use by aborigines), 41, 148, 212, 243 (n. 107)
Alexander, James, 14–5, 68–9, 71–3
Alipore Jail, 101
Alipore Zoo, 123, 124
amalgamation, 13, 23, 218 (n. 69)
Amirullah, 167
Andaman Home, 2, 11, 17, 19–20, 41, 46, 49, 51, 54, 61–2, 66, 74, 77–8, 80, 168, 169, 179, 182, 184, 193, 198, 211, 218 (n. 52), 225 (n. 156)
  interaction between convicts and aborigines at Homes, 171–8
  Homes and kidnapping, 90, 92, 96–101, 104–10
  Homes and labor regime, 129–37
  Homes and medical regime, 140, 144–50, 153–7
  Homes and resistance, 112–9
Andamanese Hospital, 2, 144–5, 150, 176
Anderson, Clare, 8
Anderson, F.C., 50
Anglo–Burmese War (First), 139
Api, 98, 118
Arens, William, 7, 219 (n. 98)
arson (hut-burning), 86, 152
Aryauto, 74, 198
Asiatic Society, 15, 31, 34, 37, 121, 123, 127, 146, 182, 235 (n. 2)
Australia, 38–43, 56, 57, 63, 68, 163, 203, 220 (n. 140)

'Bad character,' 131, 156, 176
Banerjee, Prathama, 210
Barren Island, 125–6
Barwell, C., 141, 145, 178
Bates, Crispin, 17
The beach, see *Dening, Greg*
Beachcombers, 161
Beadon, Cecil, 25, 52
Belcher, Edward, 227 (n. 68), 240 (n. 10)
Beno, 199
Bethune Institute, 121, 123, 124
Bhabha, Homi, 91, 214
Bhil Agents, 7
Bhil convicts, 63, 165, 218 (n. 67)
Bia, 200
Bia Kurcho, 31, 96
Biala (Maia Biala), 38, 63, 109, 136–7, 143, 182–3
Biala, 203
Bira, 178–9
Bira Buj, 31, 96
biometrics, 198
Biye, 201
blackness, 9, 26, 35–8, 46, 80, 83, 135, 175

Blair, Archibald, 57, 64, 76, 77, 119, 120, 139, 209, 225 (n. 5), 226 (n. 12), 230 (n. 7), 235 (n. 15)
Boas, Franz, 23, 212
Bonington, M.C.C., 23, 216 (n. 22)
Boorhana, 164, 168
Bose, Purnima, 10, 186
Botanical Gardens (Shibpur), 123, 124, 235 (n. 152)
Brander, E.S., 38, 47, 48, 183, 246 (n. 92)
British East India Company, 14
British Museum, 195, 197, 205
Briton, 57
Brookings (Captain, of *Proserpine*), 58
Bulubulla, 202
Bullard, Alice, 3, 8, 9, 18, 135, 166, 200, 224 (n. 126), 241 (n. 52)
Burchel, 201
Burma, 3, 14, 16, 36, 46, 51, 68, 92, 95, 101, 102, 103, 106, 111–3, 146, 160, 163, 182
Burmese convicts, 2, 71, 133, 148, 172–3, 175
Butler, Judith, 187
Buyo, 205

Cadell, T., 79, 82, 98–9, 108, 125, 126, 147, 153, 168, 170, 235 (n. 13)
Calcutta, tours of, 118–25
Calder, J.E., 223 (n. 88)
Caliban, 1, 209
Cannadine, David, 97
cannibalism, 3, 7–8, 10, 13–7, 19, 28, 30, 34, 36, 39, 57, 120, 121, 127, 135, 160, 182, 209, 210, 219 (n. 110)
Canning (Lord), 4, 60, 226 (n. 29)
Carter, Paul, 68, 70, 163
Chard, P., 131, 147, 175, 218 (n. 52)
Chatham Island, 99, 160, 182
Chatterjee, Indrani, 135
Chatterjee, Partha, 211, 245 (n. 33)
children, 36, 39, 44–5, 47–8, 50–1, 62, 77, 78–9, 82, 83, 86, 90, 91, 93, 97, 98, 105, 107, 111–2, 115, 118, 129–30, 134, 141, 144, 147–50, 161, 175, 177, 179–80, 191, 195, 205–7, 209, 233 (n. 88)
Churkho, 202
clearing, 10–2, 20–4, 25, 28, 32, 33, 41, 51–2, 54, 61, 67, 78, 90, 92, 94, 100, 101, 104, 107–9, 110–8, 126, 128, 132, 137, 142, 146–51, 162, 170–5, 176, 178–9, 184–5, 187, 191, 194, 196, 198, 201, 205, 207, 208, 213, 218 (n. 55), 233 (n. 88)
Cocos Islands, 133, 163
Coffree, 14, 35
Cohn, Bernard, 77, 194
Colebrooke, R.H., 15–6, 19, 28–9, 35, 68, 74, 76–7, 80, 110–1, 154, 182, 221 (n. 16)
Collingham, E.M., 183
Communards, 8, 9
Comte, Auguste, 8
Conrad, Joseph, 88
Conti, Nicolo, 14, 30
convicts, 2–3, 17–19, 25, 41–3, 51–2, 55–65, 69, 78, 99, 109, 122, 128, 132, 136–7, 143, 148, 152, 157–80
Cook, James, 7, 11, 16, 35, 39, 40, 49
Coppola, Francis Ford, 88
Corbyn, Henry, 17, 34, 37, 42–4, 49, 54, 61, 62–4, 67, 69–82, 83, 87, 89, 92, 94, 97–8, 105, 108, 110, 112–7, 120–3, 130, 132–4, 136–7, 140–3, 151, 162–5, 171–6, 179, 193, 211, 214, 218 (n. 52), 228 (n. 101)
craftsmen and artifacts, 77, 88, 152, 183, 194–6, 234 (n. 147)
creolization, 174–5
criminal tribes, 12, 44, 133, 176, 218 (n. 67)
Crystal Palace, 120
Crusoe, 22, 31, 36, 46, 59, 92, 95–6, 106, 111, 113, 117, 142, 145, 184
Crusoe (Robinson), 97, 174

Dangs, 7
Dasgupta, Swapan, 18
Daura, 203
Davis, J. Barnard, 207
Day, F., 32, 35, 129, 143, 149, 151, 174–5, 183

delinquent colonialism, 12, 54–5, 82–3, 86–9, 91, 92, 110, 115, 119, 185, 192, 196, 207, 208, 224 (n. 126)
Demetz, Frederic-August, 223 (n. 85)
demoralization, 49–50, 72, 155, 213
Dening, Greg, 18, 82
  The beach, 46, 224 (n. 128)
Dewan, Deepali, 194
Dickens, Charles 1, 127, 209
Dieulafoy, Paul Georges, 33
display as colonial ritual, 50, 69, 89, 90–1, 118–26, 172, 191, 196, 212, 234 (n. 147)
Dobson, G., 182–3, 244 (n. 10), 247 (n. 105)
dogs, 208
domesticity, 60, 108, 135
Douglass, D.R., 145

ecological conflict, 18, 65–6, 70, 149
Edmonds, Rod, 8, 26, 141
Edwards, Elizabeth, 182, 244 (n. 10)
Elbourne, Elizabeth, 27, 40
Elias, Norbert, 9
Elwin, Verrier, 7, 161, 212–4
Emily, 58
Enterprise (HMS), 143, 147
epidemic disease, 2, 20, 23, 39, 54, 63–4, 101, 107, 118, 127–56, 175, 187
Eremtaga, 43, 74, 198
erotics
  See sexual relations
ethnography, 8, 31, 48, 54, 109, 181–207
evolver, 41
exhibition and pleasure, 113, 120, 123, 211, 212, 234 (n. 140)
expertise, 5, 38, 76, 108, 118, 122, 124, 145, 197, 214
extinction, discourse of, 22–3, 27, 34, 40–1, 49, 51–2, 56, 97, 101, 127–56, 160, 187, 210–3, 237 (n. 87), 239 (n. 164)

Fabian, Johannes, 17
Fanon, Frantz, 211
Fiji, 142, 174
Fiske, John, 41
Flying Fish, 58
Ford, B., 41, 51, 63, 72, 103–4, 105, 117, 125, 125, 134, 141, 143, 150, 163, 168, 171, 176, 185
Foucault, Michel, 12, 196, 224 (n. 126)
Franks, Wollaston, 197
Frederici, Cesare, 14
Friday, 22, 27, 31, 36, 46, 72, 92, 95, 97, 106, 109, 111, 113, 184
Friday Andaman, 129
'friendly intercourse,' 42, 64, 80, 116, 166, 171, 208
Fytche, A., 34, 36, 38, 40–1, 95, 97, 112, 146, 182

Galton, Francis, 177
Da Gama, Vasco, 35
Garo, 7
Ghosh, Kaushik, 128
gift-giving rituals, 2, 20, 150, 169, 208, 228 (n. 109)
Gilroy, Paul, 46
Girba Singh, 242 (n. 87)
Godwin-Austen, H., 94, 98, 170, 231 (n. 34)
Goodur, 167
Gookin, Daniel, 217 (n. 46)
Great Andaman, 54, 58, 62, 63, 76–8, 97, 117, 144, 147, 154, 160, 163–64, 177, 225 (n. 5), 231 (n. 39), 237 (n. 81)
Great Andamanese, 67, 74, 211, 227 (n. 65)
Greenblatt, Stephen, 8, 12, 14
Greenough, Paul, 194
Grierson, J., 139
Guha, Ramachandra, 7
Guha, Ranajit, 13, 20
Gupta, D.R., 142, 145
Guyane, 129

Habermas, Jurgen, 10
Habib, 86
habituality
  and criminology, 48
  and Hegel, 191
  and homosexuality, 179
Haddo, 99, 162, 175, 242 (n. 84)
Hall, Catherine, 211

Hamilton, Alexander, 14, 28, 37, 228 (n. 88), 230 (n. 7)
Hardiman, David, 7, 66
Haughton, J.C., 30–1, 34, 49, 50, 60–1, 65, 90, 108, 111, 115, 157, 166, 171, 231 (n. 26, n. 46), 234 (n. 139), 240 (n. 18)
Hawaii, 7, 97
Heidegger, Martin, 10, 218 (n. 55)
Helen Pembroke, 87
Hellard, S., 100, 111–2, 144, 173, 230 (n. 158)
Hevia, James, 16
Hodgen, Margaret, 14
Homfray, J.N., 32, 35, 50, 54, 61, 63, 64, 72, 74–5, 78–9, 81–2, 84–7, 94, 98, 103–4, 108–9, 116–8, 125–6, 130, 134, 136–8, 140, 143, 145, 148–51, 168, 174–7, 179, 183, 210, 218 (n. 52), 222 (n. 36), 225 (n. 9), 228 (n. 101), 234 (n. 147), 242 (n. 87), 243 (n. 124)
Hopkinson, Henry, 3, 49, 67
Hottentot, 32, 43
Hottentot Venus, 187
House of Commons Select Committee on Aborigines, 127
Hulme, Peter, 7
Huxley, Aldous 1
Huxley, Thomas 37

Ike, 115, 118
Ilech, 205, 206
influenza, 2, 152–3, 156
insularity, 13, 46, 210
International Exhibition (Calcutta), 123
Interview Island, 152, 202
Ira Jobo, 31, 96
Iroquois, 42–3

Jack, 36, 97, 107, 120, 182
Jacko, 70–1, 77–8, 133, 172
Jackson Creek, 72–3
Jarawa, 11, 19, 29, 39, 47, 55, 64–5, 67–8, 73–9, 82–4, 86–7, 90, 93–4, 98–9, 107–8, 110, 114–5, 118, 152–4, 167–9, 209–11, 215, 227 (n. 61, n. 64), 228 (n. 93), 234 (n. 134), 241 (n. 55), 243 (n. 107), 248 (n. 15)
  Jarawa country, 67, 73, 75
Jigah, 160
Jingo, 71, 78, 133
Joe, 82, 133
Jumbo, 22, 31, 46, 72, 81, 92, 95, 101, 111, 120, 133, 172, 235 (n. 2)
Jungle mahals, 11, 18

Kala, 205
Kanak, 9, 166
Karen, 123
Kaunmu, 201
Kerr, Douglas, 89
Kidd, Benjamin, 151
kidnapping, 8, 20, 30, 36, 37, 66, 76, 77, 82, 84, 87, 90–126, 130, 134–5, 140–1, 177, 212, 229 (n. 133), 230 (n. 7), 234 (n. 134)
Kinsey, H., 129, 143
Kipling, Rudyard, 31, 44, 46, 71, 86, 122
Kloss, C. Baden, 23, 183, 220 (n. 125), 220 (n. 141), 244 (n. 15)
Knott, the maroon, 174, 242 (n. 104)
Kogio Kai, 234 (n. 134)
Kol, 7
Kooshea Lall, 171
Kond, 6
Kuklick, Henrika, 5, 22, 39, 217 (n. 46)
Kurtz 1, 11, 89, 152, 161
Kwang Tung Harbour, 157
Kyd, Alexander, 14–6, 29, 35, 44, 57, 60, 74, 91, 97, 119, 120, 124, 129, 230 (n. 7), 235 (n. 152), 247 (n. 115)
Kyd Island, 169, 202

labor (work), 2, 21, 53, 65, 127–56, 163, 178, 184, 235 (n. 15)
landscape, 65–75, 147, 153, 155
Lapicque, Louis, 33, 97
law and legality, 81, 86–7, 91–2, 103–4, 214, 230 (n. 8)
  Indian Penal Code, 92
Lecho, 199
Lele, Jayant, 9

Lichtung, 218 (n. 55)
Lipa (Hessa), 160
Little Andaman, 55, 64, 72, 74, 75, 79–82, 84–8, 97, 99, 102, 108, 115, 119, 142, 154, 167, 209, 232 (n. 75), 244 (n. 15)
Locke, John, 147, 217 (n. 46)
Lonach, 129–30
Lubbock, John, 128

madness, 88–9
Maharashtra, 143
Maine, Henry, 3
malaria, 32, 141, 167, 237 (n. 87)
Malaya, 3, 38–9, 41
Malays, 37, 38, 134, 142, 157, 231 (n. 39)
Malitte, Oscar, 182
Man, E.H., 6, 33, 50, 127, 148, 152, 177, 183, 216 (n. 22), 218 (n. 52), 234 (n. 131), 238 (n. 119)
Man, H., 117–8, 136, 150, 170, 176, 221 (n. 1), 234 (n. 131), 243 (n. 124)
Mandeville, John, 14, 16, 24, 29–30, 218 (n. 74)
Maori, 13, 39, 45
Marquesas Islands, 18
Mary Andaman, 129
Mauritius, 174
McClintock, Anne, 4, 30, 94, 131, 185, 186, 222 (n. 63), 223 (n. 75), 224 (n. 130), 238 (n. 127)
measles, 2, 142–3, 156, 187
Mebul, 22, 27, 72, 204–5
medical intervention
  See *epidemic disease*
Melanesians, 21, 39, 200, 239 (n. 174)
Middle Straits, 75, 157
mimicry, 96, 113, 162–3
Mincopie, 37, 74, 161, 228 (n. 88)
miscegenation, 41, 95, 131, 142, 158, 186, 211, 245 (n. 33)
missionaries, 10, 51, 150, 218 (n. 52)
Mitchel, T.G., 129
Molesworth, William, 197–9, 205, 247 (n. 115), 248 (n. 2)
Mouat, F.J., 4, 7, 15, 16, 19, 25, 29, 36, 46, 53, 55, 56, 77, 79–80, 83, 89, 91, 97, 105, 119–20, 127, 132, 139, 140, 148, 161, 181, 182, 200, 207, 208, 209, 223 (n. 85), 224 (n. 129), 225 (n. 10), 227 (n. 71), 229 (n. 138), 230 (n. 160, n. 7), 236 (n. 40), 237 (n. 78)
Moulmein, 15, 31, 34, 95–6, 101–2, 105–6, 109, 114, 117, 119, 142, 235 (n. 2)
Mount Harriet, 70, 77, 78
Much, W.L., 85
Munchausen, 15, 161, 209

Naga, 123, 125, 215
names and naming, 22, 27, 72–3, 96, 184, 208, 209
Nandy, Ashis, 200, 211
Native Americans, 10, 98
  See also *Iroquois*
Naval Guard, 60, 64–5, 242 (n. 104)
Nayak, R.K., 215
Negrito, 27, 33, 37, 39, 41, 49, 247 (n. 105)
Negro, 27, 28, 31, 35–8, 40, 43, 49, 146, 187, 198, 231 (n. 39), 247 (n. 115)
Nehru, Jawaharlal, 211, 212
New Caledonia, 8–10, 46, 129, 166
New Zealand, 35, 39, 40, 138, 218 (n. 69), 229 (n. 147)
Nicobarese, 28, 33, 123–4, 129, 235 (n. 11)
North Sentinel Island, 67–8, 167
Nureddin, 167
nursery, 134, 176

Obeyesekere, Gananath, 7–8
Odoric (Friar), 14
Officer in Charge of the Andamanese (OC-Andamanese), 2, 6, 7, 17, 20, 64, 91, 100–1, 109, 118, 137, 148, 171, 202, 218 (n. 52)
Omai, 119
Onge, 6, 39, 47, 64, 72, 74, 78–9, 81–2, 84, 86, 88, 93–4, 97–9, 107–9, 114–5, 119, 123, 142, 152–3, 154, 167–8, 200, 212, 215, 227 (n. 61), 228 (n. 96, n. 117) , 231 (n. 39), 234 (n. 134), 239 (n. 164), 247 (n. 105)

Orphanage for Andamanese children, 2, 54, 110, 118, 130–1, 134, 142, 147–8, 175–6
Orwell, George, 193

Padel, Felix, 6
Pandit, T.N., 227 (n. 61)
Pandya, Vishvajit, 6, 65, 109, 208, 210, 212, 239 (n. 164)
Papuans, 31, 35, 39–41, 49
Paro, 199
passing, 38, 223 (n. 75)
Penang, 30, 95, 129–30, 142
Phayre, A.P., 51, 97, 176
Philippines, 35, 39
photography, 30, 39, 91, 120, 152, 176, 181–207, 212, 244 (n. 10)
phrenology, 148
Phulla, 178–9
Pinney, Christopher, 182–3, 221 (n. 28)
play and colonial governance, 2, 11, 44, 46, 71, 78–9, 82–3, 87–9, 91, 94, 96–7, 104, 111, 114–5, 119, 124, 126, 133, 134, 204, 205
Playfair, F.L., 83, 91, 148, 229 (n. 138)
Pliny, 218 (n. 74)
Pluto (HMS), 46, 139, 209
Polo, Marco, 13, 30, 120, 209
Pooteah, 160
pornography and colonialism, 8, 83, 186
Port Blair, 2–3, 11–2, 23, 30–1, 36–8, 41–3, 45, 50, 54, 59, 60–3, 65, 67, 72, 76, 79, 81–2, 84, 86–8, 92–3, 98–101, 103, 109, 117, 119, 127, 129, 131, 136, 138, 143, 154, 157, 160–1, 164, 167–70, 176, 178, 180, 185, 201, 215
Port Mouat, 63, 72, 117, 150
Portman, Maurice Vidal, 4–6
  ethnographic and photographic work, 181–207
  tours with the Andamanese, 123–5
  vision of Andamanese extinction and preservation, 150–5
  vision of the colony in the Andamans, 64–6, 84
  war on the Jarawa and Onge, 67, 75–6, 79, 83, 86–9
Pratt (sailor), 42–3, 46, 61, 81, 96, 101, 168, 223 (n. 98)
Pratt, John (Archdeacon), 51
Pratt, Mary Louise, 77, 155, 201
Proserpine, 58
Ptolemy, 16
Punga Karl, 153
punishment,
  See *Law and legality*
'Punjab style' of colonial government, 87

quarantine, 145–6
Quigley, M., 77

Radcliffe-Brown, Alfred, 22, 23, 28, 31–3, 75, 147, 183, 216 (n. 8), 220 (n. 132, n. 140), 228 (n. 93)
rape, 42, 46, 62, 66, 86, 94, 177, 179, 200, 207
Redfield, Peter, 22
Renuvier, Charles, 8
resistance, 1, 4, 10, 17, 19, 21, 28, 54, 76–7, 80–1, 91, 93, 103, 105, 108, 110–8, 122, 125, 132, 134, 142–3, 149, 156, 159, 169, 198, 202, 242 (n. 75)
Riala, 22, 184, 205
Riefenstahl, Leni, 191
Rifleman (HMS), 143, 147
Risley, Herbert Hope, 31, 197
Ritchie's Survey of the Andaman Islands, 15, 16, 28, 35
Rivers, W.H.R., 155, 239 (n. 174)
Riwa, 201
Rodyk, J.B.D., 95, 129
romanticism, 13, 21, 23–26, 31–2, 50, 66, 96, 138–9, 145, 149, 153–6, 195–6, 213–4
Ross Island, 31, 43, 65, 78, 82, 99, 100, 103, 119, 126, 133, 140, 142, 150, 160, 164, 171, 172, 175, 180, 182, 234 (n. 147), 242 (n. 84), 243 (n. 111), 248 (n. 135)
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 24, 212
Royal Geographic Society, 19
Runnymede, 57
Ruth, 39, 178
Rutland Island, 38, 63, 67, 75–6, 81, 99, 107, 109, 136, 153, 164, 168

Samaddar, Ranabir, 11
Sanborn, Geoffrey, 8, 111
Sangari, Kumkum, 44, 158, 214
Sahlins, Marshall, 7–8
Sambo, 50, 107
Santal, 7
savage genius, 195
savagism, 7, 217 (n. 38)
Schama, Simon, 139
Schomberg, R., 30
secret camps, 69–70, 73, 77–8, 82, 157, 165–7, 174, 178–80
self-supporters, 17, 55, 62, 137–8, 157–8, 165, 169, 174
Semangs, 39
Sentinelese, 67, 74, 99, 227 (n. 61)
Sepoys, 76, 78, 112, 127, 129, 136, 143, 157–60, 163
'Sepoy Mutiny' (Indian Rebellion of 1857), 2, 19, 87, 216 (n. 4)
servants, 19, 30, 49, 86, 91, 95, 127–32, 135, 156, 185, 236 (n. 33)
settler colonialism, 17–8, 21–3, 42–3, 54–65, 67, 84, 128, 136–7, 159, 164, 168, 210
settler medicine, 128
sex
  between convicts and aborigines, 157–80
  between Britons and the Andamanese, 181–207
  homosexuality, 177–9, 187, 203
Shera, 178
Siam, 30
Sindhi convicts, 169
Singha, Radhika, 87
Skaria, Ajay, 92
slavery, 14, 28, 35–7, 92, 127–9, 132, 134–7, 149, 163, 186, 221 (n. 16), 222 (n. 52), 230 (n. 7)
Sleeman, W.H., 103
smallpox, 152
smell, 35, 199–201, 203, 247 (n. 115)
Smith, Bernard, 1
Smithers, Gregory, 22, 41
Snowball, 96, 101, 109, 133
Spence's Hotel, 120, 123–4, 209
Spike Island, 157
steatopygia, 200
Stepan, Nancy, 38
Stern, R., 50, 107
Stewart, D.M., 75, 93, 107, 136, 228 (n. 96)
St. John, S.A., 31–2, 37, 140
Stoler, Ann, 26
subalternist historiography, 53
Sumatra, 30–1, 38, 41
Symes, Michael, 16, 28–9, 94–5, 110–1
syphilis, 2, 44, 141–59, 177–8, 187

Talai, 107–8, 234 (n. 134)
taming, 21–2, 24, 51, 53, 68, 79, 103, 112, 181, 183
Tasmania, 35, 39–41, 43, 49, 51, 63, 153, 223 (n. 87, n. 88)
teachers, 51, 176
Temple, Richard Carnac, 10, 27, 130, 218 (n. 58), 223 (n. 87)
Templer, L., 59–60, 62, 86
Tewari, Dudhnath, 159–64, 167–8, 174, 177–8, 209, 240 (n. 10, n. 11, n. 14, n. 18)
Thanesari, Jafar (Maulana), 157, 167, 208–9
Thomson, Allen, 223 (n. 88)
Thompson, Arthur, 45
Three Athletes, 187, 190
Thuggee, 103, 222 (n. 77)
Tickell, S.R., 22, 31–2, 34, 36, 92–3, 95–7, 106, 112–4, 142–3, 145–6
Tituba, 236 (n. 33)
Tli, 202
tobacco (use by Andamanese), 20, 41, 148–50, 169, 172, 177, 243 (n. 107)
Tolen, Rachel, 133
Tomiti, 108, 234 (n. 134)
Topsy, 22, 50, 81, 92, 107, 112, 120, 133, 172, 211
Torok, 199
tours of mainland India, 118–25
Tra, 200
translation, 7, 10, 20, 23, 74, 80–1, 91, 103–5, 11–3, 121–2, 173, 178, 184, 191, 209, 211
Traveler's Anthropometer, 197–8, 202
treachery and savagery, 13, 17–20, 42–3, 45, 48, 74, 76–81, 93,

102–3, 105, 108, 111–2, 117–8, 125, 133, 139, 143, 155, 159, 203, 209–10, 219 (n. 110)
tribal boundaries, 98–9, 102, 199
tropicality, 22, 32, 129, 138–9, 195
Tropical-island colonialism, 7, 24
Truganini, 40
Tuesday, 31, 36, 46, 92, 95, 106,
Tura Ne, 101–2
Turai De, 31, 96
Tylor, E.B., 199
Tytler, R.C., 36, 42–3, 61, 63, 80, 82, 92, 96–8, 101, 129, 132–4, 164, 168, 170, 173, 182, 219 (n. 101), 223 (n. 98), 242 (n. 104)

Vedda, 7
Venkateswar, Sita, 6
Viper Island, 99–100, 134, 145, 171, 175, 177–8, 242 (n. 84)
Voltaire, 44

Wahhabi, 167, 241 (n. 49)
Walker, John Pattison, 25, 59–65, 73, 160–1, 164–6, 221 (n. 1), 240 (n. 13)
Weltomo, 201
West, Maxwell, 82
West, Tony, 82, 229 (n. 133)
White, Richard, 10
whiteness, 4, 9, 11, 26, 28, 44–6, 84–5, 87–9, 96, 135, 159, 175, 185, 196
Wilson, Kathleen, 13, 26, 119, 183
Wimberley, R.J., 86, 93, 167, 229 (n. 147)
Woichela, 204
Wolfe, Patrick, 56, 159, 223 (n. 97), 226 (n. 24)
Wologa, 109, 179
women
Aboriginal women, 42, 94, 130, 133, 177–8, 200, 243 (n. 124), 247 (n. 105)
convict women, 159, 240 (n. 5)
white women, 150, 185, 200, 204
Wurgaft, Lewis, 94